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Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Meeting Reportage

De Maiziere Receives Delegation Heads

LD1506110290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1027 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere met in Berlin today with the heads of the delegations to the 25th meeting of the Warsaw Treaty defense ministers. Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces was also present.

The GDR prime minister informed participants in the meeting of the results of their discussions which took place in Strausberg yesterday.

Pact's 'Past Errors' Noted

LD1506173290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Correspondent Slavomir Malickaj report on the results of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers session in Strausberg near Berlin—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the final press conference in Strausberg, Rainer Eppelmann, GDR minister for disarmament and defense, said that this is the first time the ministers have mentioned past errors made by the Warsaw Pact. He specifically mentioned the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In this regard, Admiral Hoffmann, commander in chief of the GDR Army, again confirmed that GDR combat units were not in Czechoslovak territory in 1968. An operative group with intelligence officers took part in the intervention in Czechoslovakia.

When asked what views were voiced in Strausberg concerning the Warsaw Pact's future, Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR minister of national defense, said that according to the majority of the delegations the Warsaw Pact has a place in the current transitory period in Europe, and the world in particular, regarding the speeding up of the disarmament process and the creating of new European security structures. He also said that the Czechoslovak Army will reduce its numbers in the near future; in light of the current international situation an army of 200,000 men is simply too large.

'Transitory Period' Viewed

LD1506210790 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg June 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek said in an interview for CTK here today that the Warsaw Treaty's role in the transitory period of the existence of military blocs was to help in the disarmament process and in creating of new security structures.

According to Army General Miroslav Vacek the majority of the delegations present at the session of the Warsaw Pact Defence Ministers' Committee agreed that the Warsaw Treaty had a role to play in Europe and in the world.

The Czechoslovak party brought to the talks suggestions, put forward by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel at the recent Warsaw Treaty summit meeting held in Moscow, that the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty should not come under the allied command, but remain under national commands. Every state should fulfil the commitments resulting from its membership in the alliance by the defence of its own territory, Miroslav Vacek said.

Referring to the Czechoslovak Army's prospects Miroslav Vacek stated that the number of its soldiers would be reduced in the nearest future. The present situation makes it possible to have a smaller Army, the current 200,000 troops are too many. Czechoslovakia wants to link this process with the results of disarmament talks in Vienna. Practical steps could be taken already late this year or early next year, Miroslav Vacek said.

Meeting Concludes

AU1606182690 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

["Ws."-signed report: "Yazov Calls Peace Treaty Precondition for German Unity"]

[Excerpt] Berlin, 15 Jun—GDR Disarmament and Defense Minister Eppelmann (Democratic Awakening) can imagine 1 September 1992 "as a realistic date for the political unification of Germany and for the security-policy unification of Europe." The minister stated this at the conclusion of the meeting of the seven defense ministers of the seven Warsaw Pact states in Strausberg near Berlin.

Previously, Soviet Defense Minister Yazov said that a united Germany must be integrated into a collective security system, which replaces the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In addition, a formal end has to be put to World War II, because, from the juridical point of view, Germany is still in a state of war. Yazov, who with this referred to the fact that as of yet no peace treaty has been concluded between the victorious allies and Germany, called these two points "the two preconditions for German unity."

After his talks in Moscow covering the same topic, Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gysi stated that full unilateral membership of a united Germany in NATO is unacceptable to the Soviet Union and this would, in his view, not receive majority support in the Soviet leadership and in the Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, the Soviet Union could completely block German accession to NATO. There is still no peace treaty and, juridically speaking, there is no way around the four victorious

powers, which have rights and responsibilities concerning the whole of Germany.

In his talks—with Yakovlev, who stood in for Gorbachev, who was sick—he realized that the Soviets fear that integrating a united Germany in NATO would mean isolating the Soviet Union.

A Europe, in which the Soviet Union "is standing outside the front of the door," is inconceivable, Minister Eppelmann said after the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Defense ministers in Strausberg. The defense ministers of the Pact agreed that a collective European security system and a nonaligned Europe must be established, in which the Americans must have their place, as well as the French, the Germans, the Poles, and the Russians. It is necessary to abolish the blocs, Eppelmann said.

In addition, Eppelmann announced that for the first time, past mistakes of the Warsaw Pact were discussed, such as the alliance's interventions in Hungary in 1956 and in the CSSR in 1968.

Soviet Defense Minister Yazov said that a committee, which is established by the Political Consultative Committee, will deal with the future of the Warsaw Pact. In this connection—not least in connection with the question of German unification—the issue is structures and the restructuring of the armed forces.

Army General Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, reported on differing views concerning the further development of the character and the functions of the Warsaw Pact. However, there were concurrent views that new ways and forms for the organization's transition to a political orientation must be searched for. As long as the alliance exists, the Pact members have to fulfill their obligations to the alliance. [passage omitted]

Hungary, Poland, CSSR Stress EFTA Ties

PM1806094090 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 14 Jun 90 p 10

[Unattributed report: "East European States Say 'No, Thanks'"]

[Text] Goteborg—"No, thanks," was the answer given by representatives of the Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments when asked whether they could envisage future membership in EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

The three ministers—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and Hungary's and Poland's foreign trade ministers, Bela Kadar and Marcin Swiecicki—had come to Goteborg to sign declarations between their countries and EFTA. The declarations open the way for cooperation between EFTA and the three countries. However, the three countries are primarily aiming at negotiationing free-trade agreements with EFTA.

All three ministers expressed their delight with their new relations with EFTA and are hoping for free-trade agreements soon. Asked whether they could envisage membership of EFTA as a step along the road to the EC, they replied that relations with EFTA are very important, but that they are also seeking association agreements with the EC.

Czechoslovakia expects membership in the Community within 10 years, Vladimir Dlouhy said.

"We want neither to complicate EFTA's negotiations with the EC nor our own association negotiations with the Community," Marcin Swiecicki said.

CEMA Energy Commission Continues Active Role

AU1606064690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 9 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "An Energy Policy Even Without CEMA"]

[Text] Yesterday, following three days of talks, the fourth session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Electrical Energy and the Nuclear Power Industry came to an end in Srni in the Klatovy District. The interested parties agreed, regardless of the future fate of the CEMA, that the commission will continue with alterations to the contents and form of its activity. An branch will be established with open admittance for other European states. The commission's program will deal with the tasks associated with the gradual interlinking of the energy systems of the countries of East and West Europe. The safety of nuclear power plants and the ecological aspects of the production and distribution of electrical energy will continue to be the center of attention.

Nexhmije Hoxha's Democratic Front Report

AU1306060190 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
6 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Report of the Presidium of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, presented by Front Chairman Nexhmije Hoxha, at a meeting of the Democratic Front General Council in Tirana on 5 June: "Let Us Increase the Democratic Front's Role in the Process of Further Democratizing the Country's Life"]

[Text] The ninth and tenth plenums of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches are major historical events of extraordinary importance for the destiny of the homeland today and in the future.

Our entire people, the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, women, and young people joyfully supported and approved ideas and decisions for further democratizing the country's life, once again expressing the people's great political unity and spiritual cohesion, created and forged by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. At present, there is no more important duty for the Democratic Front of Albania, which unites the broad masses of the people, than the struggle to enhance the role of the broad masses of the people in all walks of social activity, and to carry forward the process of democratization with the deep conviction that this is the only way of guaranteeing the freedom and independence of the homeland and safeguarding and building on our victories.

The decisions of the Ninth and Tenth Central Committee Plenums, and the laws passed by the People's Assembly on improving the economic mechanism and legislation, are permeated by the great idea of broadening and deepening socialist democracy.

Democracy is in the nature of the people's power and our social and economic order. It always has been and remains in a process of development and extension, but the decisions of the recent party Central Committee plenums make a qualitative leap. This leap has not been dictated to us by anybody, but is an objective imperative for the homeland's constant and all-around progress. The democratization process stems from the new standards and demands of society itself, the need to eliminate negative and especially bureaucratic phenomena, and the lessons drawn from world developments.

It is up to the Democratic Front to engage in extensive activity to explain to the masses the important new values of the democratic process which is taking place in the life of our society, such as the increased democratic rights of the working people and the incentive given to their motivation in work and production, so that they may contribute actively to the formation of state policy in various fields and have the competence to adopt decisions and defend civil rights. This broad democratic road is a great school of education and training for the urban and rural masses of the people to perform their role in constructing and managing society to the best of their abilities.

The democratization process is not a quiet or easy one. It will encounter many difficulties connected with the level of the material and cultural development of the country and the masses. Old and ossified conservative mentalities will hamper democracy, as will the lack of adequate experience, and so forth. Bureaucracy and its practices have been and remain especially harmful and dangerous. A continual war has been waged among us against bureaucracy, and we may say that this has been one of the decisive reasons why the party has not lost the trust of the masses, the state has not degenerated, and socialism has not been destroyed, as happened in the countries of East Europe.

Nevertheless, the recent Central Committee plenums strongly reemphasized the consistency with which this struggle should be waged under the new conditions of the process of the democratization of the country's life, and the major role of the masses as the sole way of confronting bureaucratic pressure. This was also the aim of the decisions recently approved at the last session of the People's Assembly on the new economic mechanism, as well as improving the legislation, taking responsibilities from various state and economic organs and transferring them to the local level, limiting the terms of office of managing cadres at all levels, and so forth.

The organizations of the Front should struggle to carry out these measures as well and correctly as possible. They should develop their civil courage and that of working people against all shortcomings and weaknesses and against incompetence and mediocrity, and encourage the people's initiative in identifying swift and effective solutions for problems. The Front should especially encourage the progressive thinking of workers, peasants, and intellectuals in discussions and debates, whether carried out in meetings or not, and in the press and the other media. Free thinking and debate must be constructive and in the service of society's interests, and should serve to clarify correctly and objectively the views of the masses. Nobody should abuse the name of democracy for disinformation or confusion, cliques and diseased insider-groups, or ethical and moral behavior that conflicts with democracy's meaning and purpose.

In the spirit of these plenums, the people are being informed more and more about the great political, economic and social problems of the country, and are getting in touch with and consulting leading cadres at various levels. The people are airing their views, asking for clarification, and entering into frank and free debate on all questions involving the interests of the people, the party, and the state.

In these debates, people realize that unanimity is not essential if unity is preserved. The kind of unity that results is stronger, because it is based on the legitimate

right of every one to have his say and defend his views, always for the sake of progress and in society's interests.

The decisions of the recent plenums, which are so very important for enhancing the role of the masses in the life of the whole country, are just as valuable for the Democratic Front, the masses' great organization. They represent major assistance not only for the Front's platform but also for its practical work.

The fact that the masses are invited and urged not only to have their say, but to have decisionmaking power testifies to the great political trust the party places in them. With this trust, they are now being invited to open party meetings, with the right to demand explanations and enter into discussion on an equal footing with Communists. It is not without chance that nonparty people are being elected to leading posts, organs, institutions, and mass organisations and occupy a greater percentage of important functions than party members.

The masses have deserved such political trust because of their honest labor and sweat, their talents and creative spirit, their loyalty to the party line and the interests of socialism, and their continual efforts to acquire technical and professional skills, raise their educational and cultural levels, and enrich their world view.

We in the Front must know how to set this great political capital in motion to the best advantage, in the interests of society and with a view to the new tasks of the times.

Strengthening and democratizing the state, which expresses and embodies the will of the broad masses of the people, are of major importance for the Democratic Front. It is in the people's interests to have their state power as strong, dynamic and invulnerable to bureaucracy as possible. They want it to be close to them and just. Meetings of the people have issued many warnings to councillors and deputies who have not been up to the standards of the posts entrusted to them. Executive bodies also receive many complaints from citizens about cronyism, injustices, and privileges to the point of bribery over questions of housing, employment, and education, and over marked shortcomings in communal, retail, and health services, and so forth. Front organizations must act more determinedly against all these and other negative phenomena that violate the popular character of the state and should openly denounce them all, insisting on justice in their place.

With such rigorous demands, the Democratic Front must take particular care over the proposals it makes and the candidates it selects, in order to always choose the best people for state organs, those who are the most dedicated and able and who represent the people's interests, justice, and democracy. With the same insistence, the people must exercise control over their representatives, criticizing and helping them when they err, and dismissing them when they fail to justify the trust placed in them. In this context, social control on the people's service sectors in neighborhoods, towns, and villages must also be made more stringent.

The extensive discussions in the Front organizations have produced ideas for a more just rapport between legislative and executive bodies, more effective work on the part of the commissions of District Councils and the People's Assembly, electoral procedures at all levels, and changes which must be made in the relevant laws and regulations. These are now being closely studied.

The decisions adopted by the Tenth Central Committee Plenum and the laws passed by the People's Assembly ensure the improvement of our legislation. The creation of the Justice Ministry, and the introduction of lawyers, the institution of rehabilitation, the amendments to the provisions of the Penal Code concerning sentences for political agitation and propaganda and religious propaganda, the more accurate definition of some crimes, and the draft law adopted by the government recently on the right of citizens to passports for traveling abroad, etc. harmonize better the interests of the state and society with those of the individual and better protect human rights.

Care for people and their lives and all-around rights constitute the essence of socialism. The aim of the state and its laws has therefore been and remains to create ever better conditions for the working man. This has been done in harmony with the development of the national economy and culture and domestic and international circumstances. Everything has been done in accordance with the proper order. In the early years after the liberation, when the people could not eat their fill of bread, when people died in the prime of life from malaria and other infectious diseases, and when most people were illiterate, the fundamental goal was to solve these problems, to ensure work, bread, education, and a free health service for the people, and to safeguard our independence, national sovereignty, and people's power. Our state concentrated its attention on these economic, political, and social rights. These were major historical victories for our working people, and have created conditions for guaranteeing human rights in other fields also.

The changes we are now making should be viewed from this dialectical standpoint. These changes, adjustments, improvements, and corrections in the economy and legislation, increasing the role of the masses and further emancipating our people and society as a whole, are demands of the time. They correspond to the current economic and social level of the country and the higher educational and cultural level of the people, expressing the strength of the socialist order and its democratic and humane character.

It is the task of the Democratic Front to work to ensure that the civil rights guaranteed by law, rights in the economic field, and labor and social rights should be consistently exercised and respected. The violation of these rights conflicts with the morality of our society and hinders its progress. The legal education of the masses now assumes particular importance, so that every citizen will be aware of the laws governing his relations with his

work, property, family, and with society, and will be able to enforce them and protect them from any violation or arbitrary behavior.

The activity of the social courts created in city neighborhoods and villages is also linked with the work of our Front organizations. This involves a need for close cooperation on the issues they deal with. Working to explain and enforce the new legislation does not at all mean that we will give up the struggle against crime or abandon atheist propaganda. The right to believe or not is a matter of individual conscience. Our Front organization will work to organize extensive ideological, cultural, and academic activity to educate people with a materialist world view.

In the tenth plenum decisions, democracy also extends deeply into the field of production and the economic relations, which constitute the basis of all relationships among people. The new economic mechanism marks a radical turning point in redefining relations in production. It gives working people more interest in their work, and creates conditions for their active participation in the drafting of plans, the distribution of production and incomes, and in organization and management. The advantages of the new economic mechanism must be accompanied by all-around work from all members of society, so that they will be understood and realized. The main thing in this field is to correctly understand and accomplish a harmonization of the interests of the individual with those of society, because individual incomes and earnings cannot be secured and the people's prosperity cannot be increased without a higher social product. The new economic mechanism is first of all a new scientific method which demands application. Its success will depend wholly on the seriousness and thoroughness with which it will be implemented. We must therefore combat artificial obstacles and declamatory slogans.

Many questions have been raised at various meetings, which show the need for more well-argued work in explanation and clarification. The Democratic Front must make its maximum contribution here with the large-scale involvement of specialists in different fields. Economists, planners, financial experts, lawyers, and so forth, all our great intelligentsia, must place their extensive scientific knowledge in the service of progress and strongly support the new economic mechanism. Such work has begun in the districts of Tirana, Shkoder, Vlore, Durres, Korce, and so on. Front organizations in all districts must encourage work in this field, inspiring working people to carry out their tasks, encouraging mass actions and movements, and stimulating the initiative of the masses to increase the production of material and cultural goods.

The decision of the Tenth Central Committee Plenum to give peasants livestock for their personal use is of special importance for better supplies of agricultural and animal products. Not only the peasantry, but all the people welcomed this decision with enthusiasm, and considered it timely and just. The Democratic Front will work to ensure that our patriotic peasantry understand this important measure and use it to their benefit and that of the whole of society. As always, the main source of income and prosperity remains common cooperativist property. The Democratic Front will work to ensure that the grant of livestock to families does not give rise to absences from work in the cooperatives, damage to common property, lack of hygiene, and so forth.

Confronted with the tasks set by the tenth plenum, the Front's educational work assumes a new meaning. It must struggle to carry forward the country's democratic process, and to put human beings, the broad masses of the people, more firmly at the center of this process. The great problems involving economic and social development, strengthening the homeland's freedom and independence, consolidating the defense of our socialist victories, and raising the patriotic spirit of the masses, especially the younger generation, should loom larger in the Front's work. The Front must carry out this mission in close cooperation with other social organizations: the trade unions; the women's, youth, and veterans' organizations; and the country's various sociocultural associations and institutions.

The process of democratization requires a new examination of our whole work with the people and a reexamination of both its form and content. It should aim at bringing us closer to the people and to their opinions, feelings, worries, and demands. Democratic education requires first of all listening to and tolerating another person's opinion, while frankly and unhesitatingly stating your own. Mutual human respect, without discrimination and prejudice, lies at its base. Seen in this light, many of the topics and methods of our educational activities must change. These activities should be judged not by their quantity, but their efficacy. Conferences and lectures often consisting of vacuous phrases and slogans lull the audience to sleep and reduce them to a state of passivity.

We must transform our meetings, whether in halls of culture or not, into centers of free and lively debate about problems of interest to members of the Front in the towns and the countryside. The topics of these debates should be as varied and interesting as possible, involving economic and market issues, culture, environmental protection, civil education, town planning, health, world events, and other social and political questions. Such topics will attract more young people and members of the intelligentsia to the Front. In particular, we must invigorate the intelligentsia and make use of the exceptional creative potential latent in their ranks, which is among the nation's most precious treasures, created by the working people with great investment and sacrifice.

It is also up to the newspaper BASHKIMI, the organ of the Democratic Front, to play a greater role in the high-quality dissemination of the party's thinking, in democratizing the country's life, and forming correct

opinions about democracy and the broad participation of the masses in this process. There is scope for the newspaper itself to become a better tribune for the masses' thoughts, utterances, and activity.

Comrades, the analysis of current developments in the world situation and the standpoint of our country at the ninth and tenth party Central Committee plenums and in Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches are of vital importance for our freedom, independence, and national sovereignty.

The guidelines and explanations the party gave on the new situation that has arisen in the countries of East Europe inspired the people, strengthened their unity in the Democratic Front and around the party, and increased their vigilance and readiness to defend socialism against "the most dangerous and aggressive attack," which has so far been mounted against it.

Europe may not be properly aware of Albania's past and present and the ancient origin and culture of our people. Young journalists may be excused for writing nonsense about our reality; however, the chancellories of Europe know very well that the Albanian people have always been unbowed and united like a single fist when it has been a matter of defending their independence and sovereign rights.

It is only natural that our people should follow with interest current international developments, the attempts being made to ease tension, and the changes that are occurring in the world and especially in Europe, toward which political and economic standpoints must be maintained, which respond to the times and to developments in international relations.

The Democratic Front fully supports the steps our party and state are taking in the situations created in the world and in Europe. The foreign policy of Socialist Albania has always been open, realistic, and independent. On the basis of this policy, Comrade Ramiz Alia presented our viewpoints and position on participating in the CSCE, relations with the EEC, the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union, etc. in his speeches and at his meeting with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. Our party and government voice the will of all the Albanian people when they state that, in these steps and relations, Albania does not accept political, economic, or any other kind of diktat or condition, and that Albania must be accepted as it is and as it itself wants to be. Socialist Albania has always had its own independent voice in the international arena and will retain this position in European and international institutions in the future also.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania follows a realistic policy when it states openly that our economic relations, trade exchanges, and so forth with foreign countries cannot be conducted without bearing in mind the existence of the EC and the Common Market. The People's Assembly approved laws, which open up to our economy broader paths for economic cooperation with foreign countries, at the same time making it clear that our country will not accept forms of credit which infringe political and economic independence. Albania considers its links with foreign countries indispensable not only in the economic field, but also because they enable countries to become acquainted with each other, and to mutually profit from exchanges in culture and science and from each other's experiences and general achievements in fields of mutual interest. It is well known that if even big and powerful countries need cooperation and friendly and beneficial exchanges, the need of small countries is several times greater. This is particularly in the interest of our country at the present time, when technology is taking gigantic strides forward, because it does not want to lag behind.

The peoples have acquired a high degree of political awareness and are fighting for their freedom and democratic rights. It is in this context that we view the resolute struggle and resistance of the Albanians of Kosovo to defend, or, we would rather say, to ensure the most elementary democratic rights, of which the Serbian chauvinists are depriving them one by one through violence and the use of tanks. The Albanian people have followed the course of events in Kosovo with extreme anxiety, day and night. Through the organizations of the Front in all corners of Albania, all strata of society, workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, the old, and the young have expressed admiration for the bravery of their Kosovar brothers and the maturity and coolheaddedness they are showing in these turbulent and explosive times. Through their determined struggle to win national and democratic rights, the Albanians of Kosovo, united around new, wise, and courageous personalities, are forging their unity regardless of social stratum, age, or religion.

The sacrifices they have made and are continuing to make will not be in vain. They have torn the masks from the regressive, chauvinist, and antidemocratic forces which are eroding Yugoslavia from within, and have revealed the bitter reality of Kosovo for the world to see.

The Democratic Front unanimously supports the decisions of the Tenth Central Committee Plenum for our country to follow the general world trend toward reducing tension, and demands that, without interference in the home affairs of any country, a constructive and democratic dialogue should be started, especially with neighboring Yugoslavia and other Balkan countries, something which is to the benefit of friendship, cooperation, peace, and international security.

In its own standpoints, Albania shows to the world its national vitality, its sound moral-political situation, its internal security and unity, and its confidence and optimism for the future.

The Albanian people are sure and confident that the peoples of other countries, large or small, near or distant, will be able to correctly understand and appreciate our standpoints. We hope that they will come to recognize better than they have previously the distinctiveness of the Albanian position and voice in the chorus of the peoples.

Nobody is more able than the Albanian people themselves to decide about their political power; nobody can make them share it with parties of the forces which kept them in oppression and darkness, or with artificially created parties that represent no one. Nobody can tell them how to govern the country or the economy, what kind of market to have, what ideology to follow, or on what patterns to construct their present and future. Those who seek to introduce a plurality of parties into Albania want to divide it, so that domination will follow: political, economic, cultural, and spiritual, if not also military domination.

For the Albanian people, especially for so small a people, national unity is vital for their existence, just as the sun is necessary for life. For the Albanians, anything that divides them and weakens their unity is unacceptable.

Therefore, comrades, today more than ever all the members of our great organization of the Democratic Front, regardless of class, age, sex and education, must join forces on the political, production, cultural, and scientific fronts and through work and vigilance forge the unity of the people around the Workers Party and our dear leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Results, Reaction to 2d Round Elections

'Final Results' Issued

AU1806184790 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (BTA)—Based on the final results the distribution of the 400 seats in the Grand National Assembly is as follows:
Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP): 211
Union of Democratic Forces (SDS): 144
Movement For Rights and Freedoms: 23
Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS): 16
Fatherland Party of Labor: 1
Fatherland Union: 2
Social Democratic Party Non-Marxists: 1
Independent MPs [members of parliament]: 2

The following is the distribution of seats after the election run-off in the 81 single-member constituencies: The BSP 39; the SDS 37; the Movement For Rights and Freedoms 2; the Fatherland Union 1; the Fatherland Party of Labor 1; one independent MP.

BTA Analyzes Elections

AU1806125990 Sofia BTA in English 1222 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Yesterday the candidates of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] won in two of the 28 single-member constituencies in Sofia and the candidates of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] in the remaining 26. The candidates of the SDS won all seats in Parliament distributed according to the majority system in the cities of Plovdiv, Gabrovo, Blagoevgrad and Pernik and most of the seats in Varna, Ruse and Burgas.

The candidates of the BSP are winners in all rural regions and in almost all small towns, except for the areas populated by ethnic Turks where the candidates of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms took a considerable precedence over their opponents.

BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov (in the first election round), Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, Minister of the Interior Semerdzhiev and the secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the BSP, Serbezov won against the candidates of the SDS in their constituencies in the run-off.

It is worth noting that Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense and member of the presidium of the BSP, lost to literary critic Yordan Vasilev, editor-in-chief of DEMOKRATSIYA, in the small town of Troyan. Before the elections Dzhurov, companion of the ousted dictator Todor Zhivkov from the time of the anti-fascist resistance struggle and top ranking official for more than 30 years, was pointed out as the most popular political figure in a number of public opinion polls because of the supposition that he had played a decisive role in the ousting of Zhivkov on November 10, 1989.

Some members of the leadership of the BSP who carried out most of the election campaign of the BSP on their shoulders lost to SDS candidates: Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BSP; BSP spokesman Filip Bokov; Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov; Stefan Prodev, editor-in-chief of the DUMA paper.

Among the opposition leaders most striking is the loss of Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] (the biggest member of the SDS) in the villages near Sofia. The leader of the Bulgarian Radical Democratic Party, Elka Konstantinova, lost to her BSP opponent. The secretary of the Coordinating Council of the SDS, Dr. Petur Beron, lost to Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of finance and member of the BSP leadership.

The following members of the present one-party government also won seats as BSP parliamentarians: Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Pencho Penev, minister of justice; Krustyu Stanilov, minister of economy and planning; Ekaterina Marinova, minister of trade; Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport. In Sofia Prof. Krustyu Goranov, minister of culture, lost to the leader of the Independent Human Rights Society (member of the SDS), Rumen Vodenicharov.

There will be two brothers in the Grand National Assembly—Pirin and Rumen Vodenicharov; both of them ran in the elections as candidates of the SDS.

Although some of them lost the elections in the single-member constituencies, almost all leaders of parties and organizations both of the BSP and of the opposition, will be returned at the Grand National Assembly, because they are at the head of the electoral lists of the 28 multi-member constituencies where the elections were held based on the proportional representation system.

There will be a clergyman in the Grand National Assembly, too: Pankratiy, the bishop of Stara Zagora, who ran as an independent candidate.

Dr. Nedim Gendzhev, chief mufti of the Muslims in Bulgaria, lost to a BSP candidate probably because of his passive position at the time of the forcible change of the Muslims' names in the 1984-85 period.

The popular champion of human rights, Blaga Dimitrova, will not be in Parliament; she lost the first election round in a small provincial resort to the popular actor Vasil Mikhaylov, BSP candidate.

Stoyan Mikhaylov, former secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] responsible for ideological matters, who recently declared his intention to set up a conservative Communist Party based on the orthodox Marxist tradition, was elected as an independent candidate in the much tolerated before Botevgrad District (where Todor Zhivkov's birthplace is).

Foreign Observers' News Conference

AU1806172490 Sofia BTA in English 1531 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (BTA)—At news conferences here, foreign observers shared their impressions of the first free elections in Bulgaria.

Five French students, members of the Independent Students Union in France, who are visiting here at the invitation of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), described the first round of voting as calm and democratic, noting, however, the atmosphere of fear which they found in many places in provincial areas. "In Bulgaria people say one thing in public and a different thing in private," said Mr Emmanuel Stanislas, a 22-year-old student of economics.

The French observers said that some soldiers in a military unit in the town of Stara Zagora had been disciplined with severity which was not justified by their misdemeanor and a news blackout had been imposed on the unit after 84 per cent of the conscripts voted for the SDS in the first round.

The observers did not find out the candidate for whom the soldiers voted in the second round because they visited the unit between the two rounds of voting.

The French students pointed out that at some places in the provinces there were not enough blue SDS ballot-papers and in a town which they did not name they had witnessed an hour and a half long interruption of the poll "because the party secretary (probably of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] BTA note) photographed every voter."

Politicians and public figures from Britain, the USSR, Austria, Finland, France, Spain, Canada, the FRG and Japan monitored the elections in Bulgaria at the invitation of the National Assembly, the Government and the Central Electoral Commission.

"There is no denying that the democratic process has started in Bulgaria," said Mr Michel Coffineau, head of the French delegation, whose members observed the poll in 43 districts. He pointed out that representatives of the major political forces and of the Association For Fair Elections had been present in all districts visited by the French observers and expressed the conviction that the electoral process was conducted within the law.

The French guest observed that there had been problems in compiling the electoral registers for the second round of voting in connection with the participation of voters who had cast their ballot elsewhere in the first round. He recommended that in future the military should vote outside the barracks so as to feel freer. He noted that the allegations of psychological pressure through intimidation or bribery are hard to prove "because in the final analysis the voter is alone in the polling booth and casts his ballot in secrecy."

The simplified procedure, the inclusion of representatives of the major political forces in the electoral commissions and the activity of the Association For Fair Elections were listed by the Spanish MP [member of parliament] Mr Santiago Perez Garcia and by the Finnish delegate Mr Jorn Donner as the principal advantages of the Bulgarian elections over those in Romania

The Bulgarian people's clear awareness of the importance of those elections is the main reason for the good order and the responsible approach in their conduct, said Mr Hikosaburo Okonogi [spelling of name as received], a Japanese MP who monitored the second round of voting. He said he was convinced that the Bulgarians would emerge with "boosted self-confidence" from those elections and will be contributing ever more actively to freedom and democracy in the world.

Mr Christos Pahtas [spelling of name as received] of Greece, member of the delegation of the Council of Europe which observed the second round, expressed the conviction that Bulgaria will be granted special guest status with the Parliamentary Assembly of the council in a near future and did not rule out the possibility of the country obtaining full membership in the Council of Europe before the end of this year.

"Beyond all doubt, the Bulgarian elections were fair and just by the universally recognized Western standards. As always, there were lots of complaints, too. But even if most of the complaints are justified, I don't think they could have tangibly affected the election results," said Sir Dudley Smith, a British MP. He pointed out that the complaints and the allegations of abuses are common in the conduct of elections in all countries and expressed the conviction that the Grand National Assembly will check those electoral fraud allegations. Sir Dudley said the Council of Europe delegation has the impression that Bulgaria has returned to electoral democracy.

The delegation visited 38 polling districts of its own choice in northern and southern Bulgaria. Representatives of the Council of Europe watched the poll in the constituencies of Khskovo, Kurdzhalii and other places inhabited by Bulgarians and Muslims.

The Austrian delegate, Mr Friedrich Probst, who has visited Bulgaria on numerous occasions, said that "the free and democratic elections in Bulgaria reflect the actual correlation of political forces in this country." Mr Probst said that in their accuracy and fairness the elections in Bulgaria even excel the elections in the Western countries where "the routine creates conditions for a superficial approach and errors."

The Turkish representative Mr Ali Rifki Atasever [spelling of name as received] gave his opinion about "plenty of manipulation and abuses during the first round of voting." He pointed out that in the second round the elections were held "very honestly and calmly." He shared his impression of the contrast between Bulgaria seven months ago and now." Police is

almost nowhere to be seen on the roads and in population centers, Mr Atasever said, but added that "fear was still a factor in the elections." The Turkish guest believes that things will be "still better" in the forthcoming local elections.

Republicans To Support Coalition

AU1806132290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Regardless of the results of the Grand National Assembly elections, the Republican Party in Bulgaria thinks that the country's socioeconomic situation necessitates making efforts and forming a coalition government, which will represent the interests of all political forces in the country, and will enjoy their confidence, an announcement from the party reads.

The Republican Party proposes a meeting at which opinions on this matter will be exchanged tomorrow, 19 June at 1700 [1400 GMT] at 13th Hall of the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia.

Postelection Government Viewed

AU1906092590 Sofia BTA in English 0836 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Avenues Open to Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jun (BTA)—Bulgaria can only be saved by a broad-based coalition government or by a government of experts which all parties would agree to support, believes Mr. Damyan Obreshkov, editor-in-chief of the TRUD daily. Today's issue runs his extensive analysis of the avenues open to post-election Bulgaria.

Mr. Obreshkov categorically rejects the idea of a one-party government. "If the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] does not realize the logic of the present-day Bulgarian reality, it will lose," he writes and suggests three other possibilities. The first one, the least likely but the most desirable as far as the people is concerned, is a coalition government of national concord, to stay in office throughout the life of the Grand National Assembly. The other option is for either the Bulgarian Socialist Party or the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) to form a government of its own with the help of M.P.'s representing other parties and experts. In this way, Mr. Obreshkov believes, the parliament's law-making operation will be paralysed, a solution to Bulgaria's pressing problems will be deferred, and the result will be complete disaster. Yet another possibility is to form a government of neutral experts by mutual agreement. "It may prove to be the only feasible option, no matter how complicated it is in practice," Mr. Obreshkov writes.

He lists some other, intermediate options. After the elections the BSP and the SDS may split, and doors may open to interaction between different factions within them. Mr. Obreshkov describes as particularly dangerous and actually disastrous the option in which an escalating discontent with the current composition of parliament might lead to demands for new elections.

Mr. Obreshkov asserts that in any case, the major political forces should take tangible steps towards civilised inter-party relations. The socialists' leadership will be expected to take actions proving the proclaimed changes in the party, and the SDS will be expected to assume the responsibilities of a weighty public and parliamentary force.

In this intricate situation, the trade unions will keep counting on their nonpartisanship and independence. They will be campaigning for a coalition government or for a government of experts, Mr. Obreshkov writes. Under definite circumstances, if no other way out is found, the trade unions might resort to the pressure of boycott.

Lukanov Discusses 1st Round of Elections

PM1806142090 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Jun 90 p 5

[Interview with Andrey Lukanov, premier and chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Sylvie Kauffmann in Sofia on 13 June; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Sofia—In an interview granted to LE MONDE on Wednesday, 13 June, Premier Andrey Lukanov, one of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's [BSP] reformers, admitted that the current situation is likely to lead to deadlock in that the party does not want to govern alone and the opposition currently refuses to form a government coalition. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], has put forward the basic idea of a so-called government of experts.

[Kauffmann] How do you explain the agitation which was caused in Sofia by the announcement of the first election results?

[Lukanov] The main problem stems from the fact that the opposition seems to have overestimated its chances. It therefore found it difficult to accept something which is not, after all, a defeat, because its results are very impressive: It has won in Sofia, Plovdiv, and Varna, the three largest cities. It is now established as an undeniable force in the future parliament and should recognize these results as excellent. But its incorrect predictions had previously created euphoria and led its leaders to count on complete victory. It is now difficult for them to explain to their supporters why victory is not complete and all they can now do is to say that the elections were falsified, but that is not true. Nobody claims that the elections were perfect, but the most demanding observers have admitted that they were conducted properly. Indeed, we are being criticized for having won, that is the BSP's crime. We must calm down a little and continue the path which we adopted on 10 November (10 November 1989 is the date when former party leader Todor Zhivkov was ousted).

[Kauffmann] How do you explain the BSP's defeat in the larger cities?

[Lukanov] Our results in Sofia are very disappointing and must be analyzed. The different forces were more or less equal but the voters who were undecided swung toward the opposition. That may have been due to the UDF meeting on 7 June which was very well organized and very attractive. In the provinces, however, the party did well.

[Kauffmann] But you, and several other BSP leaders, have to go through a second round.

[Lukanov] Yes, that is rather unexpected. The polarization of opinions is the most striking aspect of this election—the two main parties share 80 percent of the votes—and we, the party leadership, have been affected by that polarization.

[Kauffmann] Before the elections, you said that you would not lead a one-party government. Do you still hold that view?

[Lukanov] After the past three or four days I am more convinced than ever that we must not govern alone. The country is strongly polarized, and we must remedy that and unite; and a government formed by the BSP alone cannot accomplish this. A minority government formed by the united opposition would have an even greater handicap. We are therefore in danger of finding ourselves in a situation in which it would be impossible to implement any serious reform. We must cooperate, everybody must understand that. It is difficult to say what solution we may find, but national accord is absolutely vital.

[Kauffmann] Do you not think that your party is now paying for the fact that it failed to break with its past and admit the Bulgarian Communist Party's mistakes?

[Lukanov] Our program needs further development. In our move toward a conventional European left-wing party, the various currents within the party will emerge naturally; some will follow this path which, I think, is the only valid one, whereas others will probably prefer to stand by the old more dogmatic and more conservative stances. In my view, the best solution for Bulgaria is a center-left in which the Social Democratic Party (currently a member of the UDF opposition coalition) would have an important role.

With regard to an analysis of the past, it must certainly be made. But, at a time when people are trying to denigrate our party, to question its very existence, the natural reaction is to defend the aspects which are a source of satisfaction. We need to stop and catch our breath after the past seven months. I recognize the opposition's role, but it was the party which carried the burden of these historic changes.

Various Student Strikes, Protests Continue

Students Condemn 'Barbaric Actions'

AU1606171090 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jun (BTA)—The students of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia who are on strike condemn the violence against their colleagues of the University of Bucharest.

They express their deep resentment at the barbaric actions against the students of the University of Bucharest and characterize the manipulations and the attempt to bring about dissent between the students and part of the working people in Romania as acts of "gross political immorality which violates basic human rights."

"We condemn the acts of violence provoked by Romania's Government and call upon the Bulgarian public to give their support to the Romanian students," it is said in a declaration of the students on strike received at the BTA.

Turnovo Strike Enters 6th Day

AU1806133990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] The strike by the students of St. Kiril and Metodi Veliko Turnovo has continued for six days. The students are striking in support of the demands of the Sofia University students.

Today a meeting took place between the strike committee and the rector's council. An attempt was made to reach a compromise which, without violating the rights of the strikers, will provide conditions for work in the university. However, an agreement was not reached and the strike continues. It was announced that a representative of the striking students will take part in a meeting scheduled for tomorrow in Sofia between the rectors of the country's universities.

Hunger Strike Begins in Sofia

AU1806192190 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (BTA)—The sit-in in Sofia University which began on June 12 is going on. The students believe that their demands for campaign and election abuses to be made public and for objective coverage of the student protests by Bulgarian Television and Radio are not yet met. The strikers have not yet reached agreement with the University management. After sit-in strikes were declared at the Higher Institute of Architecture and Building and at the Higher School of Acting on Friday [15 June], it was reported today that two more buildings of Sofia University have been occupied by strikers.

Four undergraduates have gone on hunger strike in protest of the tendentious coverage of the events in the

university by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] daily DUMA. About 600 teachers of Sofia University have declared their support for the strikers.

The sit-in in the University of Veliko Turnovo is in its sixth day today. A relay hunger strike began there in support of the sofia students demands. Seven hundred signatures have been collected in solidarity for the strikers, and 140 teachers and employees have protested against the disruption of the normal operation of the university by the strike.

The Independent Public Council issued a declaration calling on the leaders of the major political forces to contact and help settle the disputes. The future parliament, which is only competent to investigate the allegations of electoral fraud, will meet at the end of the month at the earliest.

Federal Government Proposes, Explains New Laws

Numerous Draft Laws Presented

AU1306125990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Jun 90 pp 1,2

[Dimitrina Aleksandrova and Lyubomir Rozenstayn report: "News From the Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] **Preparations for the Elections:** [passage omitted]

Incentives For Agricultural Producers:

In 1990 the government once again authorized the traditional incentives for tobacco producers by providing them with fodder.

Temporary subsidies are granted to assist cooperative agricultural farms which are having financial difficulties in paying back their debts.

Spare parts for agricultural equipment shall be imported. Foreign currency shall be provided through self-financing methods with farmers being expected to export grain for this purpose.

The government adopted a decision on additional sugar supplies for the country. [passage omitted]

The Government Proposes Additional Draft Laws to Parliament:

The draft law on social welfare provoked stormy debates in parliament. The ministers assessed its major advantages—namely that all basic norms are collected in one single document. Nevertheless, the preparation of the document precedes the new constitution, the Labor Code, and the Economic Activities' Law, and is adjusted naturally to the present legal acts and to the country's current financial possibilities. Despite its basic approval of the ideas contained in the draft, the government decided that a competent group of experts from various spheres should be in charge of pursuing work on the draft and of publishing basic postulates covering social welfare legislation.

The draft law on currency control over business deals and on operations with currency values was subject to preliminary examination. It turned out that this document proposes radical changes, but it also depends on numerous future factors—such as Bulgaria's membership in the International Monetary Fund. Another question of principle prompted lively debates—namely the question of whether our country should introduce parallel currencies. Finally, the opinion prevailed that the preparation of the draft on this issue should be pursued on the basis of more extensive consultations.

The response to the draft law on foreign investments was: whether such a law is called for at all. The ministers, in their majority, thought that the legislative and economic conditions should be the same for foreign and domestic entrepreneurs. Such a draft project could be discussed only if this should be necessary, following the adoption of the General Economic Activities Law.

The draft law on the Bulgarian National Bank was successfully passed. In addition to the change of name, the most important part of the draft law in question was the separation of the Bulgarian National Bank from the government. In the future, it shall be placed under parliamentary control. Considering that no consensus was reached, the draft law shall be discussed on the basis of two alternative solutions—either the chairman should be appointed by the National Assembly, as in the United States and Poland, or by the head of state as it is the custom in other countries.

The draft law on banks and credits was adopted only on the basis of clarificiations on the questions concerning future relations between the Bulgarian National Bank and the trade banks, and in connection with the responsibilities of trade banks to companies.

As a result of all this, the draft laws on banks shall be submitted immediately to the future Grand National Assembly.

Yesterday, the government decided to grant temporary financial assistance from the budget for increasing the wages of Bulgarian Railroad employees. New tariffs shall be introduced for the handling and transport of freight and passengers by rail as of 1 October 1990.

Draft Land Law Scrutinized

AU1206113790 Sofia BTA in English 0852 GMT 12 Jun 90

["The Bulgarians Want To Cultivate Land of Their Own"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Jun (BTA)—We should understand once and for all that the Bulgarian peasants do not want to be hired workers, Dr. Stefan Stefanov, chairman of the Union of Private Farmers, writes in his article published

in KOOPERATIVNO SELO. He comments on some shortcomings of the draft land law.

According to Dr. Stefanov this document does not make it clear how pieces of land could be obtained by the farmers who work now on cooperative farms and do not want to leave them, but did not give land of their own when the cooperative farms were formed, nor are they heirs to people who gave up their land. It is said in the draft that they can either leave the collective farm and set up farms of their own or stay as hired workers. In Dr. Stefanov's view the second alternative is a departure from the idea that the land should belong to those who cultivate it. He considers that the law should make provisions for another variant this group of people should be given the possibility of buying land without leaving the cooperative farm, thus enjoying equal rights with the other members, including the right to a ground rent.

Having in mind the declaration of pluralism, equal rights and equal opportunities for all forms of property, it seems strange that the draft gives priority to state and cooperative property. In the author's opinion it would be a mistake to break up the now-existing cooperative farms, but it would be a very serious mistake to put them in a more advantageous position. The law should guarantee equal rights to possess, use and dispose of the land to all subject of property.

Sale of State Enterprises Bill Explained

AU1906195590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Jun 90 p 6

[Report on interview with "Deputy Minister" Georgi Pankov by Mara Georgieva; place and date not given: "How Will Bulgarian Enterprises Be Sold and Who Will Buy Them?"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has adopted a draft law on the sale and conversion of state and municipal enterprises. It will be submitted for discussion to the Grand National Assembly, together with other draft laws drawn up during the brief term of office of A. Lukanov's government.

[Georgieva] How was the draft law prepared?

[Pankov] The draft law was drafted with the wide participation and good cooperation of our lawyers, economists, and financial experts. It is aimed at bringing our legislation closer to that of the developed countries. We held consultations with experts from the World Bank and the banks' Coordinating Committee, which includes several Western banks. We also consulted specialists from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, obtained written recommendations from them and took these into account.

[Georgieva] Please briefly describe the main points of the draft law.

[Pankov] The draft law provides for enterprises and companies, as well as individual divisions of these, to be privatized either by sale or through conversion into joint stock companies. The purchasers of shares, or the enterprises themselves, may be a workers' collective, private persons, cooperatives, foreign physical and juridical persons, public organizations, and others. In practice, the sale and conversion, as well as the management of state shareholding participation, will be entrusted to a specialized organ—the State Property Agency.

[Georgieva] Accusations have been heard that the government is preparing to sell off state property in an unprincipled manner.

[Pankov] The state's interests will be protected and installations, which under the Constitution are the state's exclusive property, will not be subject to privatization. The draft law provides for the sale or conversion of enterprises with assets in excess of 150 million leva to be completed by a decision of the National Assembly. In addition, the sale or conversion of the enterprises will take place only by decision of the minister of economics and planning, the minister of finances, and the relevant minister within whose sphere of responsibility the enterprise falls.

If the law is approved, the enterprises will be sold not for a price subjectively assessed by the state organs, but by public auction. During the auction process the final price of the installation offered for sale will be fixed.

[Georgieva] How will the initial selling price be determined?

[Pankov] It is envisaged that an assessment will be made by independent, highly qualified, experts who enjoy the public's trust. By decision of the leader of the agency, this assessment may be entrusted to foreign experts or specialized companies.

[Georgieva] Is there the possibility that the labor collective which is working in a particular company will also become the owner of the company?

[Pankov] The conversion of the company from state ownership into a joint stock company gives priority to the labor collective. It is envisaged that shares will be sold to members of the collective at a nominal value, not at the market price, and, if the leader of the agency so decides, payable in installments. Then the collective is organized into a citizens' company or a cooperative, its representative may be empowered to take part in the auction bidding.

[Georgieva] Does the draft law allow the participation of foreign companies and investors?

[Pankov] The draft law includes provisions allowing enterprises to be sold wholly or partly to foreign companies for convertible currency, thus allowing a further liberalization of the conditions for foreign investors to take part in the country's economic activity. The aim is not to sell off state property, but to take effective

measures to attract foreign capital into different industries and activities in our economy. The terms for the participation of foreign persons will be announced by the State Property Agency in each specific case. Of course, auction conditions will also apply in these cases.

[Georgieva] What restrictions are there on participation in the tendering process?

[Pankov] According to the draft law, persons who have been convicted for deliberate crimes of a general nature, persons not allowed to occupy posts of responsibility, or persons involved in uncompleted court proceedings, will not be allowed to take part in the tendering . Apart from this, employees of the State Property Agency will not be permitted to take part, nor experts and accountants who made the assessment or verified the documentation describing the enterprise.

[Georgieva] The sale and conversion of state enterprises into joint stock companies is not only an economic issue.

[Pankov] The draft law states that the new owner will take over all the assets and liabilities of the enterprise, and this includes the enterprise's obligations to its workers.

Agriculture Ministry Views Harvest, Food Supply

AU1906082590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry has been discussing the harvest campaign, fruit and vegetable exports, and the general situation of animal husbandry in the country.

The discussions and the subsequent decisions pursue one and the same goal, namely to ensure that the agricultural sector plays the role assigned to it in connection with stabilizing the domestic market and guaranteeing a larger flow of export goods.

The leadership of the Agriculture and Food Industry Ministry is convinced that the market will be relatively well supplied in the coming months. This forecast is based on the subsidies guaranteed by the government for maintaining stable prices in the sphere of basic foodstuffs.

Resources have been provided to ensure the supply of combined fodder components, which should make it possible to overcome the existing meat shortage. It is also expected that the quantity of cow's milk will exceed planned amounts for 1990.

Army Daily on Armed Forces' Past, Future Role

AU1506162390 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 8 Jun 90 p 1

[Major General Trifon Trifonov report]

[Text] Every political leader, regardless of his political affiliation, should have a clearly determined stand on the questions of the country's national security and on the role, place, and importance of the Army which should be guaranteed.

For a number of reasons, the Bulgarian People's Army is the most reliable guarantor of our country's internal security, of stability, and peace and this applies to the country as a whole and to all individual citizens. The guarantee of peace, security, and inviolability of the individual is the essential part of the democratization process to which we all aspire. It is a major part of the concept, "rule-of-law state."

The Bulgarian People's Army to this very day has never failed to prove that it is totally devoted to its duty to the country and people and that it has always impeccably fulfilled this duty, that it does not deserve any insults and physical assaults against its soldiers and commanders and this applies to all army personnel from the rank and file to the minister of national defense.

Not even one single soldier of the Bulgarian People's Army has ever been involved in suppressing social unrest, or uprisings, or in disbanding strikes and public dispersing rallies. The Bulgarian People's Army has never organized, or participated in any military coups. It has always been a guarantor of domestic peace, as was confirmed on 10 November 1989. Not many armies throughout the world can boast of such achievements.

National security cannot be protected with slogans, or posters, or with pompous rally speeches, but only with the help of a modern, well equipped, and well trained army, which is unified in its spirit and goals. Let us remember, that neither protest rallies, nor UN resolutions were capable of halting the invasion of Turkish troops when they occupied part of the sovereign Cypriot territory in 1974. This action was directed against the interests of Greece, which was a member of the same military bloc. The phenomenon of the "fait accompli" should never be disregarded under the present-day circumstances.

A united and strong army whose fighting capacity and combat readiness should be guaranteed is required for safeguarding our country's national security. All political forces are obliged to take this reality into consideration, if they do not wish to relegate our country and people to the conditions of a remote past.

Politicians, you should never fail to protect the Bulgarian People's Army, because it is a necessity for all Bulgarians and for the country itself.

Commanders' Responsibility for Education Viewed

AU1506145190 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Jun 90 pp 1,2

[Article by Lieutenant General Yordan Mutafchiev, deputy minister of national defense: "Unity of Command and Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] One-man command is the principle which has always been present in the development of the Army as viewed historically. Of course, it is not an unchanging, conservative principle, but one which has continuously developed. The changes in the principle have not been substantial in nature, because they have been nuances in the development of the sociopolitical systems. At the present stage of renewal of society and our Army, bearing in mind the military political and economic situation, the furious development of the scientific and technical revolution, the development of military hardware, and the further improvement of the Armed Forces' structure and of the forms and methods of warfare, one may naturally and objectively reach the conclusion that the importance of this principle will increase.

One-man command has always demanded, and will continue to demand, the unquestioning and most stringent submission of the will of the hundreds and the thousands to the will of one man. The Bulgarian People's Army [BPA], representing the highest stage in the Armed Forces' development since Bulgaria's formation as a state, has also been built upon this main principle's foundation. [passage omitted]

Undoubtedly, the pluralism of opinions, views, and political affiliations and the other dimensions of democracy in sociopolitical life will govern the directions and aspects of changes in the work of the so-called one-man commander. For example, the changes in sociopolitical life since 10 November 1989 prompted the issuance of Decree No. 126 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. On the basis of this decree, the Ministry of National Defense issued Order No. 9 on 26 January 1990 concerning the need for further consolidation of the principle of one-man command in the BPA, and the responsibility of commanders at all levels to maintain combat readiness, training, and military discipline among the troops. The commanders were given the total responsibility for organizing and conducting educational work. This decision is completely in line with the repeal of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the first articled of the Constitution, and is dictated by the need to preserve the unity and monolithic nature of the Armed Forces.

This document raises the role of the one-man commander to a new level and sheds new light on this role. The entire responsibility for the moral and psychological state of military personnel is imposed on the commanding officers, commanders, and chiefs. In their work, they are guided by the Constitution of Bulgaria, the decisions of the state and military leaderships, and the requirements of BPA statutes. The document significantly alters the work of the commander, for he is no longer able to rely upon the party and Komsomol organizations and the other organizational structures based on the latter (series of lectures on agitation and propaganda subjects, and so on). New levers are needed to aid the commander, new approaches in educational work, purified of ideological tinges and aimed totally at the inculcated spirit of patriotism, love for the people and the homeland, the new political thinking, human rights, and so forth. This is now one of the main tasks of the organs responsible for educational work.

It should not be forgotten that the organization and conduct of explanatory work concerning the decisions of the government and the fulfillment of government programs is one of the main obligations of every commander and chief. An unavoidable and important part of this work is the commander's social activity, settling issues connected with everyday life, living accommodation for servicemen and their families, and so on.

Without this, it is impossible to strengthen discipline and increase the struggle against negative phenomena which damage the prestige of the BPA. Of course, this has nothing in common with the desire, clearly expressed in certain press articles and radio and TV transmissions, to represent our Army in the most unfavorable light, aiming the spearhead of their attack, in a completely biased manner, against the commanding staff as a whole. [passage omitted]

Glasnost, as a component of democracy, and democracy itself are political concepts. It is inappropriate to apply political methods to the Army's organism in a mechanical fashion. However, this does not mean that glasnost or democratic forms of management cannot be used to help the principle of one-man command. Increasing glasnost concerning the positive, and not negative, aspects of army life, using democratic means for this (without lowering the status of one-man command) is an essential condition for further improving the style and methods of leadership in the Army.

There is no doubt that one-man command will find its new place under the conditions of the restructuring of the country and our Army. It is a necessary principle of management, and it will retain its main characteristics in the course of the dialectic of its development, further improvement, and optimization.

SFRY-Greek Border Closure Raises Transit Traffic

AU1706195890 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Jun (BTA)—The temporary closure of the crossings on the Yugoslav-Greek border forced most of the foreign travellers bound for Greece and Turkey via Yugoslavia to pass through Bulgaria. Yugoslavia said this resulted in a three-kilometre long queue of motor cars waiting to cross into Bulgaria through the Gyueshevo border checkpoint. The Bulgarian border controllers had to redouble their efforts to cope with the thousands of travellers. Further complications arose from the need to issue visas to some of the transit travellers on the spot and to exchange the mandatory amount of foreign currency.

A total of 1,568 foreigners had entered Bulgaria by midnight on June 16, and this number had doubled by

this evening. One third of the travellers are homebound Turkish citizens working in Western Europe. The traffic intensity through that crossing point of the Bulgaro-Yugoslav border is expected to go back to normal, now that it was reported that the checkpoints on the Yugoslav-Greek border have been reopened.

Lukanov Receives IMF Official in Sofia

AU1406174890 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 14 Jun 90

["Bulgaria Will Probably Join IMF in September"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Jun (BTA)—Today Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov received Mr. Goldert Posthumus, executive director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and leader of a group of countries within the IMF.

They continued the negotiations concerning Bulgaria's joining the IMF and specified some steps which the government should take. It was stressed that the IMF is interested to render certain assistance to Bulgaria in some spheres of her economy.

Ivan Dragnevski, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank, took part in the negotiations.

After the meeting Mr. Posthumus told a BTA correspondent that the International Monetary Fund can render assistance to Bulgaria in her payment balance. He said that it will be their primary concern to admit Bulgaria into the IMF and then to admit it to membership in the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which will help along the development of some sectors of the Bulgarian economy.

If everything goes on all right, it can be expected that Bulgaria will be admitted to membership of the International Monetary Fund in September, i.e. before the annual general assembly of the IMF.

Staykov on Bulgaria's Position at CSCE Talks

AU0906195090 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 9 Jun (BTA special correspondent)—The week that has passed since the forum in Copenhagen was opened shows that the ideological differences between the East and the West are being overcome thanks to the understanding that Europe, as well as Canada and the United States, have a common fate based on universal human values and respect for human rights that are inherent to a common civilization, Stefan Staykov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, told the BTA special correspondent.

It is not by accident that all ministers pointed out that the cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is an important element and one of the pillars in the strengthening of the atmosphere of confidence and security in the continent and in building up of a reliable security system in united Europe. Bulgaria is very interested in the all-European security system because the diminishing role of the military-cum-political alliances raises the question to what extent a country's national security is guaranteed in the present world in which local conflicts come to the fore, Mr. Stefan Staykov said.

He underlined that unlike the first CSCE human rights conference in Paris, now Bulgaria is not "on the other side of the barrier." Our country will actively participate in it with proposals and ideas and will defend positions coinciding with those of the other countries, Mr. Staykov stressed.

Bulgaria has recently embarked on the road to democracy, but the political, juridical and legal construction of a democratic society is a long process. That is why our participation in the meeting in Copenhagen is important, Mr. Stefan Staykov said. Forums like this, the purpose of which is to safeguard human rights in Europe, will play the role of a stimulating factor for the establishment of democracy in Bulgaria.

The beginning of the second CSCE human rights conference gives grounds to believe that through a constructive dialogue the common denominator of the different ideas and concepts presented by the 35 countries will be found and that the forum in Copenhagen will become an important stage with its concrete contribution to the stable positive advancement of the all-European process, Mr. Staykov stated.

Mladenov Receives Japanese Parliament Member

AU1806113590 Sofia BTA in English 1034 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (BTA)—President Petur Mladenov received today Mr Hikosaburo Okonodji [spelling as received], member of the Japanese Parliament and official guest for the Grand National Assembly elections and of the government.

The Japanese guest estimated elections in this country as fair and free and expressed satisfaction that they passed in a peaceful and calm atmosphere. The signing of the president's initiative for non-violence has played a positive role in this respect.

The two sides assessed the future political and economic relations between the two countries. According to general opinion the fair and democratic elections which were held serve as a groundwork for concrete results in a mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

Japanese Premier Invited To Visit

AU1806155890 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Jun (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, extended an invitation to Japan's Prime Minister, Mr Toshiki Kaifu,

to visit Bulgaria. This was done today, at a meeting with Mr Hikosaburo Okondji [name as received], member of the Japanese Parliament.

The two sides discussed the prospects of the two countries' relations and the shared conviction was expressed that the establishment of a strong parliamentary rule and government will help activate Bulgaro-Japanese relations.

Diplomatic Relations With Oman Established

AU1806191990 Sofia BTA in English
1834 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, 18 Jun (BTA correspondent)—Mr Enyo Savov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Heysam Bin- Tariq, [spelling of name as received], deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Sultanate of Oman, signed a joint declaration on the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations at the ambassador level in Muscat yesterday. The declaration says that Bulgaria and Oman will promote their relations on the basis of respect for the principles of international law and of the U.N. Charter.

Austria's Fischer on Change to Market Economy

AU1606150790 Sofia BTA in English
1320 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jun (BTA)—Somebody should explain to the Bulgarians that there is no point in letting the pendulum jump from one extreme to the other: from one-party totalitarianism to a radical market capitalism, Mr. Heinz Fischer, deputy chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, said in an interview given to OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK (the former OTECHESTVEN FRONT paper).

Mr. Fischer forecasts that the immediate introduction of market mechanisms will give rise to a heap of problems in many respects, that is why he would not recommend the shock therapy for healing the Bulgarian economy. According to him it would be reasonable to seek an intermediate way from the very beginning, similar to that the social democracy in Western Europe successfully covered, which is probably suitable for Bulgaria, too, he said.

Social democracy gained great prestige because it opposed all cruel things in the rules of the market game and competition, raising the flag of social components, Mr. Heinz Fischer pointed out. He forecast that his party will win the forthcoming elections in Austria.

Havel Interviewed on Campaign, Election Results

AU1806180690 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 11 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified CTK reporter in Prague on 10 June: "With Vaclav Havel on the Elections"]

[Text] After the declaration of the results of the parliamentary elections, CSFR president Vaclav Havel gave an interview to a CTK reporter:

[CTK] Mr. President, when you entered your current office you were accompanied to Prague Castle by the slogan "Vaclav Havel—Guarantor of Free Elections." Do you agree with the point of view that such a burden cannot be placed on an individual politician? Can you tell us whether you personally sought help—either among the personalities or among the political forces in present day Czechoslovakia—in fulfilling your task?

[Havel] I think the entire society was the real guarantor of free elections. I was only their most senior representative. Many people deserve credit for the general course of the elections and for their freedom—the representative bodies, the national committees, the electoral commissions, and all the volunteers who participated in the preparation and in the course of the elections; of course, the Government of National Understanding also deserves credit. Perhaps—despite all the preelection squabbles, skirmishes, and accusations—it would not be out of place to say that this was within tolerable limits. Therefore, it is also appropriate to mention that even the political forces competing for the voters' favor deserve credit for ensuring that the elections were free and orderly. At least, as far as I know, no one can reproach them about anything.

[CTK] In your opinion, is it possible to state that the preelection campaign took place peacefully and honorably?

[Havel] I think that in view of the extraordinary nature of this situation—a kind of post-revolutionary atmosphere had set in—and in view of the fact that the majority of us have had no experience of free elections, it took place relatively satisfactorily.

[CTK] Today, without any danger that you will influence someone in his decisionmaking, you can reveal whom you voted for in the parliamentary elections....

[Havel] I think I should keep that to myself.

[CTK] "Reliable" rumors are flying around Prague that the president voted for the first time in his life on 8 June. Can you confirm this?

[Havel] Yes. I can.

[CTK] What do you think about the results for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and about this party's possible participation in the government?

[Havel] I am pleased that the Communist Party got into parliament because I think it will be better if it appears on the democratic stage—in the full glare of the lights trained upon it—as a party represented in a representative organ than if it were driven into an extraparliamentary existence. I believe that this will have a therapeutic influence on the party and that, probably, it will attempt to transform itself into a modern left-wing party at a far quicker pace than to date.

[CTK] What do you say to those who compare the results of the current elections to the 1946 election results and to those who are afraid that this will make the establishment of an authoritative regime possible? All the important government posts will be filled by the Civic Forum, or, as the case may be, by a coalition in which the Civic Forum will have a decisive voice.

[Havel] I have not yet appointed the new government and, therefore, I am unable to express my views on any speculation concerning its composition.

[CTK] Should you be entrusted with the post of head of state for another period, do you want to be a president who reconciles opposing parties at home? Or do you think that domestic conditions will permit you to take a more active role on the international scene?

[Havel] I can only answer this question with difficulty as I have not yet answered the question on whether I will accept the presidential candidacy.

[CTK] Would you not like to do that now?

[Havel] I cannot do it. I have said several times in public that I have to undergo one more test and its result alone will indicate to me whether I am capable of continuing to hold such an office or not. Only then will I make my views known.

Civic Forum Schedules Congress for 30 Jun

LD1706095190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpts] In a resolution passed yesterday, the congress of the coordinating center in Prague entrusted the coordinating centers at the regional level with drawing up lists proposing experts and other capable people to fill senior management posts in central bodies.

It supported the candidacy of Vaclav Klaus for a ministerial post, in view of the fact that he received the largest number of preferential votes in the voting in the North Moravian region. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's [16 June] resolution of the coordinating center also states that the next congress, on 30 June, will discuss and finalize proposals for a new concept of the Civic Forum structure.

Problems, Dangers Said Inherent in Election Result

AU1606115390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Jun 90 p 2

[Petr Sabata commentary: "Strength Yes, Totalitarian Power No"]

[Text] Citizens are afraid of any new totalitarian power, yet the country needs a "government of national sacrifice" able to rely on strong support in parliament. What sort of answer did the elections give to this dilemma?

Above all, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] has been put in its place, even though some people would have preferred to see it completely out of political life. Most probably, the Communists will have no representatives in the governments. Yet only practical life will put to test the ostentatious preelection pronouncements of all the parties that they will not cooperate with the CPCZ. The CPCZ will have its deputies in the parliaments and it will not be possible to ignore them in voting on some contentious issues.

All this does not apply to the Czech National Council (the situation in Slovakia will be more complicated) where Civic Forum has a comfortable majority and does not have to concern itself with the other parties too much. This will be of significance in connection with the expected gradual reinforcement of the republics at the expense of the federation.

The composition of governments, however, will be considered in the context of all three [the federal and the two republican governments] and it would be, therefore, premature to talk about their final shape.

Despite the substantial representation of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence [VPN] in the Federal Assembly, one of the drawbacks needs to be pointed out: The passage of constitutional laws—and it is these laws which will now be on the agenda—requires a three-fifths majority in the People's Chamber and in the Czech and Slovak parts of the Chamber of Nations. And to pass a motion of no confidence in the Federal Government one only needs more than 50 percent of the vote in the People's Chamber or more than 50 percent of the vote in either the Czech or the Slovak part of the Chamber of Nations. At the same time, we must remember that the alliance between Civic Forum and VPN becomes fragile as soon as nationality questions are involved—and these are part of virtually every problem which parliament will discuss. This became evident not only during the recent dispute about the name of the republic. Moreover, Civic Forum itself cannot be perceived as a political party in which everyone is guided by what the party leadership has decided. The sessions of its parliamentary group so far have shown this very graphically. This is one of the safeguards against the emergence of a new totalitarian power. At the same time, however, it is a reason to ponder whether Civic Forum is capable of being a force of such strength as the country would need for vigorous and unpopular steps to be pushed through. Only the future will show what exactly the broad representation of such a political group in parliament means.

The first coalition partner for Civic Forum that can be considered is the Christian and Democratic Union—either as a whole or with its individual members. The crucial factor will be whether the Bartoncik affair has not discouraged it from cooperation with Civic Forum (which should not be the case if it is a responsible political force) and what representation in the governments it will be offered. If it is small, it would probably be more advantageous for the Christian and Democratic Union to remain in opposition, given the expected difficult two years ahead.

Among the other dangers of coming developments, let us mention, above all, the aversion to compromise, the endeavor to court popularity before the next parliamentary elections, which will be held within two years, as well as, theoretically, a possible nationalist opposition. All this could condemn parliament to impotence, which is what Czechoslovakia cannot afford now.

Social Democratic Party Examines Elections

LD1506220790 Prague CTK in English 2032 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Prgue June 15 (CTK)—Causes of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party's failure in the June 8-9 elections and ways of reviving it were discussed by party members who are associated in the Club of Social Democrats within the Civic Forum today.

Despite the failure in the elections, some party members will hold a seat in parliament as they were put up as Civic Forum candidates.

The Social Democratic Party's election campaign is one of the causes of the differences within the party. The election results eventually favoured the group described as Rudolf Battek's wing. Differences of opinion, however, go far deeper, concerning questions of strategy and tactics.

Rudolf Battek pointed out that the result of the elections, in which none of the socalist parties succeeded, gives the Communist Party a chance to take up the function of the socialist (left) opposition. This role, however, could and should be played by the social democracy.

The continuing closed-door meeting of more than 60 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party today was the reason why the announced press conference of the party was cancelled.

A greater part of the agenda of today's meeting of the Social Democratic Party was expected to deal with an assessment of the activities of the Club of Social Democrats around Rudolf Battek. The debate apparently centered on whether or not the club's policy would be described as factional and whether any conclusions would be drawn.

Election Results Trigger Internal Party Crises

AU1906085590

[Editorial Report] The 13, 14, and 15 June issues of Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech, the dailies of the Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS), publish items dealing with conflicts within these two parties that have broken out in the wake of the elections. (Both the CSL and the CSS suffered unexpected setbacks in the elections)

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 13 June on page 1 publishes a 600-word statement by the daily's editorial staff entitled "On the Situation in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE." The statement, which was signed by 35 of the 45 members of the newspaper's head office in Prague, criticizes the "unqualified interference" in the newspaper's work and "censorship" practiced by "some members of the CSL Central Committee Presidium, such as (CSL Deputy Chairman) Dr. B. Svoboda." It points out that the work of the editorial office "has been paralyzed in the last few weeks" by the "editorial council headed by Dr. Stroebinger." LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE has gradually been turned into a "party bulletin" and has therefore "lost the prestige which it won during the November days." It has even been forced to publish materials against the will of its editorial staff "which resembled manhunts."

The statement stresses that its authors did not publish their grievances before the elections so as not to harm the credit of the Christian and Democratic Union and that their sole motive is to raise the newspaper's quality. They demand that LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE be transformed into a "modern Christian daily," which is inconsistent with being "just the propaganda instrument of one political party."

On 15 June, on page 1, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE publishes a 600-word "Resolution" of the 14 June session of the CSL Central Committee. Two points of the resolution deal with the situation in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE. Point VII states that "the CSL Central Committee recalls Jiri Navratil from the post of chief editor of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and appoints Deputy Chief Editor Emerich Mach in his place effective 15 June 1990. At the same time it abolishes the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial council." Point VIII of the resolution reads: "The CSL Central Committee stresses that the daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE is the CSL's press organ and as such must express its political positions." On the same page, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE carries a 1,000-word "LD"-signed report on a news conference on the 14 June CSL Central Committee session. The report stresses that the decision to recall Jiri Navratil from the post of chief editor was made by the CSL Presidium "last week" and "is not connected in any way" with the 13 June statement by the paper's editorial staff or with the case of Josef Bartoncik. Navratil is to be "entrusted with another important position" in the CSL's own VYSEHRAD publishing house.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 13 June, on page 1, publishes a 250-word "open letter" by the editors in chief of newspapers and magazines published by the CSS's own MELANTRICH publishing house to CSS Chairman Jiri Vyvadil. The statement accuses him of "politically immature behavior," "personal ambitions," and "imprudent attacks" which harmed the party in the election campaign. The four signatories (who include SVOBODNE SLOVO chief editor Lubomir Petrik) call on Jiri Vyvadil to resign from the post of party chairman.

On 14 June, on pages 1 and 4, under the headline "The Crisis Has Erupted in Full," SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes a 2,000-word "em and dk"-signed roundup of reactions within the CSS to the publication of the above letter and to the party's electoral defeat in general. The roundup includes statements endorsing the criticism of the CSS leadership as well as the party leadership's reaction to criticism. The critical statements include a 100-word letter by a group of members of the National Socialist Party, the CSS's predecessor, who express "full support for the courageous letter of the four chief editors" and accuse CSS Chairman Vyvadil of "having led the party to the brink of a catastrophe." The signatories of this letter include J. Lesak, CSS first deputy chairman. The call for Vyvadil's resignation is also endorsed in statements by CSS local organizations and individual party members. Some of them blame Vyvadil's comparisons of the Civic Forum's "alleged totalitarianism" with the totalitarianism practiced by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the past for the CSS's electoral defeat. The roundup also includes a 150-word letter by Stanislav Krecek, secretary of the CSS Central Committee, to Jiri Vyvadil. In the letter Krecek announces his resignation from his post in protest against a secretly made tape recording of a meeting of the present leadership's critics in the CSS building. As Krecek points out, he does not see the danger of a return to totalitarianism in the election results but "in the use of methods that were customary prior to 17 November."

The SVOBODNE SLOVO roundup also reports on the party leadership's response to the criticism. It includes a 700-word passage on a news conference given by Jiri Vyvadil and other CSS leaders on 13 June as well as Vyvadil's 350-word "open letter to the editorial staff of SVOBODNE SLOVO." Responding to calls for his resignation, Vyvadil points out that a session of the CSS Central Committee on 12 June decided to set up a commission which will analyze the causes of the electoral defeat and "propose solutions."

Most speakers at the CSS plenum reportedly argued that Vyvadil's resignation would only create more problems and would not "contribute to the party's consolidation." Moreover, according to the party statutes, only a party congress can recall the chairman. Although Vyvadil admitted his responsibility for the party's results in the elections, he denied the existence of a "direct link" between these results and some of his statements. Asked about Stanislav Krecek's charge concerning the use of listening devices in the CSS building, Vyvadil said that

the party was worried about plans to set up a new "national socialist party, which could threaten party unity." CSS Deputy Chairman Jan Skoda added that the "testimony" about the considered founding of a new party did not come from any recordings but from a direct participant in these talks and that no party would accept such a "clear factionalist policy."

In his letter to the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial staff, Vyvadil expresses understanding for the calls for his resignation, in view of the party's failure in the elections. He refuses to be described as the "sole culprit," however, and points out that the CSS received the largest number of votes, more than 6 percent, in Prague where he was the front-ranking candidate. In addition, he also received more than 17,000 of the "preferential votes," 67 percent of all preferential votes received by CSS candidates. In concluding, Vyvadil reminds the SVOBODNE SLOVO journalists that he has the "mandate" of the party congress and that only the congress can recall him.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 14 June on page 2 carries a 200-word report by unidentified correspondents on the crisis in the CSS. The report states that, according to "circles close to the CSS leadership," Jaroslav Safarik, chairman of the Czech National Council and a CSS deputy chairman, "resigned from the post of deputy party chairman in protest against Jiri Vyvadil's course of action."

CSL States Conditions for Joining Government

AU1806193590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 11 Jun 90 p 1

["LD"-signed report: "Thanks to Voters of the Czechoslovak People's Party"]

[Text] On 10 June 1990, having acquainted itself with the results of elections to representative bodies, the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee Presidium turned to all citizens who had given their vote to candidates of the Christian and Democratic Union [KDU]. It conveyed thanks to them for their expression of trust, the result of which is the representation of the KDU parties in the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council. It declared that KDU deputies understand their future activity as a service to our people, in the performance of which they will fully and responsibly implement the principles of Christian humanism and democracy.

The CSL Central Committee Presidium discussed the course of the elections, during which the CSL Central Office lodged two protests with the Central Electoral Commission against violation of the election law. The Central Electoral Commission endorsed these protests.

The session also dealt with the CSL's participation in a possible future government coalition. The Presidium arrived at the conclusion that, following agreement with its coalition partners in the KDU, the CSL can, under certain conditions, participate in preparatory work on the composition of the Federal and Czech Governments.

Resignations From CSL Leadership Noted

AU1906080590

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 15 June on page 1 carries the 600-word "Resolution" of the 14 June session of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee. On the same page, under the headline "The CSL Will Not Join the Federal Government," it carries a 1,000-word "LD"-signed report on a news conference on the results of the Central Committee plenum.

The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE reports add information on personnel issues discussed at the plenum. The plenum resolution notes that the CSL Central Committee "acknowledged the resignation of J. Cerny, LLD., from his post as general secretary by the date of the CSL conference." The report on the news conference mentions that B. Servus resigned from his post in the CSL Presidium. No reason for the resignations is given.

CSL Presidium Statement on Bartoncik Case

AU1906091190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 11 Jun 90 p 1

["LD"-signed report: "Session of the Presidium"]

[Text] At its post-election session on 9 June 1990, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] considered, among other things, the situation that has arisen at the close of the election campaign in connection with the case of CSL Chairman Bartoncik, LLD. It noted that to this day it does not avail itself of any conclusive material that would entitle the CSL Presidium to draw any conclusions. It demanded these materials from J. Ruml, deputy minister of interior, and tried to obtain them from Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, and J. Krizan, his adviser. Dr. R. Sacher, federal minister of interior, who had also been requested to provide information, informed the Presidium that he does not avail himself of the relevant materials.

The Presidium learned from the televised news conference [given by presidential adviser Jiri Krizan on 9 June] that the sole evidence is a testimony by a former member of the State Security Corps [StB] who had supposedly been in contact with Dr. Bartoncik. In view of the StB's lack of moral credit and its past activities, a testimony by one of its former members cannot serve as the basis for any conclusions. The Presidium noted that the StB had used similar methods in the past when blameless citizens used to be liquidated on the basis of false accusations.

The CSL Presidium therefore insists on the presentation of specific evidence. In this connection it turns to Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, with the request to be allowed to acquaint itself with the materials on the basis of which Dr. Bartoncik had been accused.

On the basis of CSL complaints, the Central Electoral Commission twice condemned the publication of the assertions about Dr. Bartoncik on the eve of the elections, after the end of the election campaign, as a gross violation of the election law. The CSL Presidium notes that the violation of the election law by some members and supporters of the Civic Forum had done serious damage to the Christian and Democratic Union. The election results therefore do not reflect the true standing of the CSL and the Christian and Democratic Union in society. At the same time the CSL Presidium draws attention to the previously adopted principle that any proven cooperation with the StB is incompatible with a position in the CSL.

CSL Leadership Recommends Recalling Bartoncik

AU1806184990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 12 Jun 90 p 1

["LD"-signed report: "Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party Convened"]

[Text] In view of the results of the elections, the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee Presidium decided at its session late on Sunday, 10 June, to recommend to the Central Committee the recalling of Brother J. Bartoncik from the post of CSL chairman and convened a session of the CSL Central Committee on Wednesday, 13 June 1990.

Evidence on Bartoncik's Work for Secret Police

AU1506161190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Jun 90 p 2

["zn"-signed article]

[Text] Our daily considers it necessary to add a few words to the statement by Jan Ruml, deputy federal minister of interior, which he presented to CTK yesterday [concerning discovery of materials allegedly preventing Josef Bartoncik, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, from remaining in his offices]. In the past days and weeks our editorial office also kept receiving numerous reports from well-informed sources casting great doubts on the political and human integrity of Dr. Bartoncik, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party. Indications of his long-term and active connection with the former State Security were not few. That was indirectly confirmed by the revelations of the Austrian weekly PROFIL and it corresponds to the following information:

Dr. Josef Bartoncik was a covert State Security collaborator with a cover name of Hajek and identification No. 15,301. Bartoncik signed the promise of collaboration with the State Security in Brno where until the end of November 1989 he was the head secretary of the Czechoslovak People's Party Regional Committee for Southern Moravia. According to the assessment by his fellow workers, he was very ambitious, unprincipled, and spineless.

He himself initiated the collaboration with the State Security in order to bolster his career. The same reason led him to enter a close relationship with Vladimir Herman, the head secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Brno, who helped him to gain personal advantages in exchange for information on the Czechoslovak People's Party. Among other things, he propelled Bartoncik into the parliament, although the Czechoslovak People's Party leadership of the time disagreed with this.

Bartoncik almost reached his goal in 1987 when, shortly before the Czechoslovak People's Party congress, he informed the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's Regional Secretary Herman that the Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Zalman ordered South Moravian delegates to attack in their discussion contributions at the congress the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and to reject its privileged status in the National Front. This was a fabrication aimed at discrediting Zalman in the eyes of the members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee which would lead to the replacement of the Czechoslovak People's Party chairman.

The then Parliament Chairman Indra received instructions during the session of the Central Committee Presidium to discuss this problem with the Deputy Chairman of the parliament Zalman. It took a great effort on Zalman's part to explain this information as slander and an attempt to discredit his person. Although Zalman managed to reveal Bartoncik as the initiator of the entire action, he was not allowed—by an intervention of Herman, former CPCZ leading secretary for South Moravia; Stepan, head secretary of the City of Prague Municipal Committee of the CPCZ; and Bouchal, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Department—to call him to account.

The scandal around the newly elected, and in the meantime again resigned, Mayor of Brno Jiri Trmac—of whom a report was published that he collaborated with the State Security—also bears witness to the mode of Bartoncik's activities. Trmac defended himself in a statement that he had agreed to collaborate with the State Security only after a consultation and approval by Bartoncik, hence he actually accepted the offer on the instructions of the party leadership.

Papers on Controversy Over Bartoncik Case

AU1806140190

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers from 12 to 15 June continue to pay attention to the affair concerning Josef Bartoncik, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL), who has been accused of having been a paid agent of the State Security Corps (StB) since 1971 and whose CSL chairmanship was "suspended" on 14 June.

Several items deal with the role of Richard Sacher, federal minister of interior and a member of the CSL

leadership, in the affair. Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 12 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word interview with Zdenek Formanek, former director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, by ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY staff journalist Jan Subert. In the interview, Formanek contests Richard Sacher's statement, made at a news conference in Prague on 9 June. In this statement Sacher claimed that in late March Zdenek Formanek and Dr. Jaroslav Prochazka, then deputy minister of interior, conducted a search of the Brno StB archives to find information on Josef Bartoncik. Because this search was "negative," Sacher later paid no attention to the "indications of Dr. Bartoncik's possible collaboration."

Formanek claims that Sacher's 9 June statement was "very inaccurate" and that "it all was entirely different." As Formanek points out, he himself had known about the "serious suspicion" of Bartoncik's collaboration with the secret police since 16 February and the minister "must have learned about it in late March at the latest." Formanek stresses that the results of the screenings of the members of the parliament, which Minister Sacher had himself ordered, were deposited in a special safe and that its only keys were in the hands of the minister. Until about mid-May Sacher therefore "had the monopoly on looking into this material." Asked why he believes Sacher had not informed "constitutional officials" and his own party leadership about the material on Bartoncik, Formanek says that this question can only be answered by the minister himself. "What is beyond dispute," Formanek says in conclusion, "is that he had at least two months' time to avoid a scandal and big publicity and did not do so."

A denial of Sacher's 9 June statement is also issued by Jaroslav Prochazka, former deputy minister of interior. Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 13 June on page 1 carries a 200-word CTK report on a Prochazka statement, in which he denies ever having conducted a search in the Brno StB archives (as he has not visited that town since 1982) and ever having spoken about Dr. Bartoncik with Minister Sacher.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 13 June on page 1 carries a 300- word "jvs"-signed report on an interview with Ladislav Jenik, a member of the CSL leadership and the CSL chairman's adviser on foreign affairs. In the interview Jenik says that there exist "facts which speak in Dr. Bartoncik's favor," which is why "he does not have to be recalled from the post of party chairman." Jenik points out, for example, that the StB officer Machaty, on whose testimony the accusations of Bartoncik are based, had given his testimony before the prosecutor without asking the minister of interior to be relieved of his oath of secrecy, as he should have done. Moreover, "People like Machaty are allowed to give testimony only before the military prosecutor and after receiving proper instruction, which did not happen." Jenik also calls it suspicious that the material against Bartoncik appeared shortly before the elections.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 13 June on pages 1 and 2 publishes three reproductions of what is described as documentary evidence of Bartoncik's work for the StB. This evidence was made available to MLADA FRONTA by Jan Ruml, deputy minister of interior, on 12 June. The reproductions are accompanied by a 600-word unsigned explanatory article entitled "On the Bartoncik Case." According to this article, the first reproduction shows that Bartoncik was working for the StB as an "agent" since 1971, using the cover name "Hajek." The second and third reproductions, a copy of Bartoncik's "screening card" (lustracni karta) and a computer printout, are said to confirm that "Hajek" was identical with Josef Bartoncik and that he worked for the StB "voluntarily." According to the MLADA FRONTA article, Ruml's adviser Petruska Sustrova "assured" the newspapers that "the possibility of a forgery is ruled out."

On 14 June, on pages 1 and 2, MLADA FRONTA carries an 800-word article by Borek Hanus, Karel Hvizdala, and Libor Sevcik entitled "Question Marks Over Documents." The article returns to the publication of the Bartoncik documents in MLADA FRONTA's 13 June issue. It is based on the authors' interviews with unidentified "experts from the criminology institute" concerning the authenticity of these documents. The article stresses that, according to the experts, there exists some "lack of clarity about the documents" and that a number of questions remain to be answered before the documents' authenticity can be established. It will have to be demonstrated, for example, that some data have not been added subsequently. Furthermore, because the computer printout (the third reproduction) does not include the date of birth, it cannot serve as proof of Hajek's identity as Josef Bartoncik. The article also draws attention to some inconsistencies in the documents. One of the documents, for example, includes Bartoncik's academic title (doctor of law) although, according to some CSL members, Bartoncik did not hold this title on the date given on the document. The MLADA FRONTA authors conclude the article by saying: "Instead of the whole affair becoming clarified, the confusion around the documents [allegedly proving Bartoncik's collaboration with the StB] is mounting. Seen from this point of view, we consider that some of the published claims [about Bartoncik] to lack adequate arguments."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 14 June on page 1 carries an 800-word commentary by Josef Zverina on the Bartoncik affair, entitled "The Non-Roads of Justice." Zverina questions the credibility of the materials on Bartoncik because they come from the StB. He also objects to President Havel's role in the affair, saying that he "should have kept himself aloof" from the case.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 15 June on page 3 carries an 800-word commentary by Jan Kastanek entitled "Question Marks Over Evidence." The commentary returns to the 14 June MLADA FRONTA article on criminologists' assessment of the

documents on Bartoncik's work for the StB, stressing that the authenticity and credibility of these documents are not beyond doubt. According to Kastanek, the documentary evidence presented thus far does not justify the "conclusions" regarding Bartoncik's work for the StB. He concludes the commentary by saying: "We are not trying to defend the accused at any price; we want to ascertain the objective facts. This is the right of every journalist working in the free press. It is not our fault that the facts which have become known thus far do not unequivocally confirm the conclusions drawn [by Bartoncik's critics] on television and at the [9 June] news conference. We share the view of our colleagues from MLADA FRONTA that the confusion around the documents is mounting, instead of the whole affair becoming clarified. We will also be happy to publish more specific pieces of evidence, provided, of course, that the appropriate institutions make them available to us."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 15 June on page 3 under the headline "Bans Again?" carries a 300-word statement by Josef Tomes, a Czechoslovak Television journalist who visited Josef Bartoncik in the hospital on 12 June with a television camera and interviewed him. Tomes says that the management of Czechoslovak Television refused to broadcast the interview, without giving any reason, and confiscated the tape. Tomes calls it "paradoxical" that whereas the news conference given by Bartoncik's critics was carried live on television on 9 June, Bartoncik has not been permitted to defend himself. He qualifies this as "gross violation of journalistic ethics" and as a recurrence of the practices of the "totalitarian regime" when only one side was allowed to present its case. Tomes also protests against the fact that the management of Czechoslovak Television made the confiscated tape available to prosecutor Rychetsky, Bartoncik's "opponent" in the dispute.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 15 June on page 4 publishes an 800-word undated interview with Vladimir Herman, former leading secretary of the South Moravia Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Regional Committee, by Jaroslav Stepanek. In the interview Herman responds to claims made by the Austrian weekly PROFIL in its 14 May issue concerning contacts between Josef Bartoncik and himself. He denies PROFIL's claim that he, Herman, used to intervene on Bartoncik's behalf in exchange for information on the CSL and that he helped him gain a seat in parliament, despite opposition from the then CSL leadership. Herman asserts that PROFIL's claims are "ungrounded" as his contacts with Bartoncik were confined to the platform of the National Front and were strictly businesslike. On the other hand, Herman confirms PROFIL's claim that in 1987 Bartoncik informed him that Zbynek Zalman, the then CSL chairman, had ordered South Moravian delegates to the CSL congress to "attack the leading role" of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in their discussion statements. Herman adds, however, that he "did not attribute any significance to this piece of information" and regarded it as an internal CSL affair.

Adamec Denies Involvement With Black Marketers

AU1906085790

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 8 June on page 3 carries a 1,600-word article by Petr Soukup entitled "War Between Policemen." The article deals with investigations into the activities of Jaroslav Hajek, the head of a ring of illegal currency dealers in the district of Kolin, and his links with the district police and Communist Party officials. While Hajek is in prison awaiting trial, some of the high-ranking officials who were his accomplices and best customers are still at large and, in some cases, have even retained their original positions. This is why the author believes that the investigations are being obstructed and "sabotaged" by "someone who is highly placed." The reason for these obstructions, he suspects, is "to prevent the exposure of much more serious criminal activity by high-ranking functionaries at the Ministry of Interior" and the "disclosure of links between the criminal activity of the Kolin policemen and functionaries of the Ministry of Interior and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee." In this context Soukup quotes from a letter sent to him by Jaroslav Hajek from prison. In this letter Hajek claims that he used to surrender some of his hard currency profits to an unidentified person who, in turn, "was supplying Sterba, who was then minister of foreign trade, and Adamec, the then premier, with foreign exchange."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 June on page 2 carries a 100-word statement released by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Press Service in response to the MLADA FRONTA article. According to the statement, Ladislav Adamec and Jan Sterba declare that the accusations raised against them are "false" and that they both instructed their legal representatives to initiate legal action against the author of the article and the MLADA FRONTA editorial office.

Threats of Terrorist Acts Reported

AU1906120890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 7 June on page 2 carries a 30-word CTK report stating that "several central institutions in the Slovak Republic have received warnings that, in the event of the destruction of the Klement Gottwald statue on Freedom Square [in Bratislava], one of the buildings of the central institutions in Bratislava, capital of the Slovak Republic, will be blown up."

On the same day, on page 16, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 50-word unattributed report, according to

which an anonymous woman called the Bratislava police on 7 June, announcing that "a bomb will explode at Slovak National Uprising Square [in Bratislava] on 25 June." No motive for the threat is given. The report points out that "the necessary security measures have been taken."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 June on page 2 carries a 400-word "CTK, zr"-signed report on security measures taken to ensure a troublefree course of the 8 to 9 June parliamentary elections. The report quotes Andrej Samel, deputy federal minister of interior, as saying that "seven groups threatening armed attacks on the results of the velvet revolution have proclaimed their existence since 2 June." No further information on these groups and the nature of these threats is provided, except that one of these groups is the "so-called Gottwald Communist Party."

Klaus' Privatization Plan Outlined

AU1606102990 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Jun 90 p 2

["jef"-signed report: "Will All of Us Be Shareholders?"]

[Text] "I wanted the coupons with my signatures to be distributed on 8 June, the election victory would then be easy. For technical reasons, however, this was not feasible." It was with this joke that Vaclav Klaus, the federal minister of finance, opened the discourse on his privatization proposal at his news conference on 8 June.

The coupons in question are so-called investment coupons. Every Czechoslovak citizen should receive a parcel of investment coupons with an overall nominal value of one million korunas, for which he will be able to "purchase" the shares of state enterprises. The coupons will be registered. They are non-transferable and non-negotiable but they can be associated. They will not function as currency and must not be exchanged for currency, i.e., for Czechoslovak korunas. Inspection bodies will keep an eye on this and will strictly punish any attempts of this kind.

The price of the shares of individual enterprises should not be a condition but the result of the whole process. This means that share prices should take final shape directly on the market on the basis of offers and demand. In the opinion of Vaclav Klaus, this is a very fast and efficient method of privatization. This proposal will be discussed by the government next week.

Public Said Not Yet Ready for 'Critical' Press

PM1306142790 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 7 Jun 90 p 18

[Report on interview with RESPEKT journalist Ivan Lamper by Audun Bakkerud; place and date not given: "Toward an Independent Press"]

[Text] "You could say that at present we are electioneering in support of Civic Forum, without being paid for it and without having any agreed arrangement. This will end with the election and then we can concentrate on creating an independent press," Ivan Lamper, a central member of the editorial team of the Czechoslovak weekly RESPEKT, told us.

"Even though we know that Civic Forum has shortcomings and faults—even quite major ones—now is not the right moment to become hung up on them, because now is not the time when they can be corrected. What is important now is that we take our point of departure in the ruins of a society where there is no political culture and where people are not used to forming their own views."

In light of this it is Lamper's view that it would be indefensible to follow the path of independent critical journalism immediately. "It would lead not to more reflection but to more chaos. People are still afraid. We have, therefore, adopted a course with which we can see to it that the elections go well and the Communists can be driven out," he said.

[Bakkerud] What sort of position do you want to take up in the country's press?

[Lamper] It is difficult to adopt a position in something that still does not exist. But we want to do more than simply provide information. We want to comment on that information in some way or other: critical journalism, reports, commentaries. We want to try to function as a mirror for political life. We must hammer away at the political game—which produces the result that politicians become self-satisfied and begin to manipulate. There is always a temptation to tackle things without too much talk, away from the public gaze, and we want to try to make that impossible.

[ARBEIDERBLADET] In the last few years Lamper has been a key figure in the Czechoslovak underground. As coeditor of several publications—the periodical REVOLVER REVUE, for example—he has represented the younger generation of veteran activists. In the last few years they have illegally created products that have become increasingly professional, and when the revolution started the next phase began. From the very beginning information bulletins were put out by the spontaneously organized Independent Press Center. Shortly after New Year's this series of bulletins was transformed into the weekly RESPEKT.

Asked whether the press is practicing self-censorship in the run-up to the elections, Lamper said that it is not a case of self-censorship but of party censorship.

"Almost all newspapers are party newspapers. All newspapers with the exception of LIDOVE NOVINY and MLADA FRONTA belong to the party. Among the independents I can only talk about RESPEKT, and we have, as I have said, adopted a certain editorial line in the run-up to the elections."

Czechoslovak newspapers largely look the same and have the same style of writing as in the past. For example, they are happy to print what Havel has said, where he has been, and what he has done—but this is only to a very limited extent put in a context where it is analyzed and commented on.

It is Lamper's view that this form of journalism must be changed.

"But it is the only thing that people here know how to do. It is to be hoped that the changes will take place fairly quickly, with ever greater competition in the press, and greater access to Western newspapers and periodicals. The newspapers of today are hardly worth a thing, and there is nothing in them that is exciting or sensational. It is simply a matter of habit: buying newspapers. LIDOVE NOVINY is the best. But I only say that because the others are so terrible. The initial situation here is that not one of our newspapers, not even RESPEKT, approaches the usual Western standards."

RESPEKT is doing very well. It has a print run of 120,000 which sell like hot cakes. At present the periodical is making a large profit. The Independent Press Center will also continue to publish other publications and books. But those running the center are nevertheless a little uncertain about how things will go in the future. Partly because both paper and rents will become more expensive. And partly because the interest in newspapers could fall away after the elections. Also, there are still problems with distribution.

"There are enormous distribution problems. The whole network is a state monopoly. We ourselves sell around 70,000 newspapers here in Prague, but sales of what we send around the country are slow. In the immediate future there is no one who will gain any advantage from trying to sell more newspapers, and that is why no one can be bothered to increase sales. An extreme case was the first number we sent out through the network, when 50,000 copies were lost."

[Bakkerud] When you were working at full capacity in late November and early December, did you feel that victory was certain?

[Lamper] It is difficult to say. We were not even thinking about the future at that time; we were completely taken up with the work we were doing day and night, with practical tasks. To the extent that other thoughts surfaced, they were probably more along the lines of "What will happen if we lose, if we are all locked up, or..." I do not know what they might have decided to do with us. But now we find ourselves the whole time in an ongoing and enduring process—a situation which is growing more difficult, but which we have to nurture.

Journal Returns After 20 Years in Exile

LD1606111590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] After 20 years in exile, the first issue of the journal LISTY, with the subtitle "Independent Bimonthly," is now appearing and being printed in Czechoslovakia. This also spells out the characteristics of the contents, aims, and roles of the journal, which for 20 years of normalization had been in opposition against the totalitarian regime and which gave truthful information about the events in Czechoslovakia, published commentaries, essays, and viewpoints of the people who were banned from publishing and creating by the totalitarian regime. At the moment LISTY wants to continue striving for democracy, freedom, and social justice and contribute toward greater tolerance, as well as the ability to listen to different views.

Poles Protest Against Travel Restrictions

AU1806185190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jun 90 p 8

[Unattributed report from the "From the World" column]

[Text] Warsaw—The Polish Government is demanding the complete renewal of personal and tourist traffic with Czechoslovakia. This was conveyed by B. Kulski, Polish first deputy foreign minister, to the Czechoslovak ambassador in Warsaw. The Polish Government is dissatisfied with the continuing restrictions on free travel which were introduced in December 1981 and demands that no steps be taken that would place restrictions on travel.

Havel, Dienstbier Receive Poland's Geremek

LD1806154690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Today, at Prague Castle, President Vaclav Havel received Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of Solidarity Citizens' parliamentary floor group and the chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the Polish Sejm. They discussed mutual cooperation and the need for coordinated conduct of Central and East European countries in the course of talks concerning the entering of pan-European institutions and in tackling humanitarian questions. They also discussed problems of the privatization process in Poland and Czechoslovakia and other questions.

Bronislaw Geremek was also received in Cernin Palace by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal premier and minister of foreign affairs. They discussed topical issues of relations, particularly in connection with the Bratislava meeting of Czechoslovak, Polish, and Hungarian presidents.

Havel Sends Congratulations to Iliescu

AU1606064890 Prague PRACE in Czech 9 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "Briefly" column]

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Ion Iliescu on the occasion of the confirmation of his election to the post of Romanian president.

Dienstbier's Speech to CSCE Conference 5 Jun

AU1506155590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Jun 90 p 6

["Excerpts" of Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier's speech at the CSCE conference in Copenhagen on 5 June: "What Next in the Human Dimension?"]

[Text] The ethical principle of what we call the human dimension of the Helsinki process confronted us, and still confronts us, with tasks that are not easy. The demand for compliance with the law is not conceivable without responsibility for its enforcement. This responsibility, that is, the responsibility for the risks we are taking by enforcing rights, was in our recent past very often connected with a repressive response from the state. For example, those who have signed Charter 77, or those who let their craving for freedom manifest itself in other independent initiatives were very strongly criticized; fired from their jobs; the state barred their children from acquiring education; and many of them were arrested, tried, and imprisoned. Jiri Hajek, one of the first three Charter 77 spokesmen and minister of foreign affairs during the Prague Spring, who is present here with us in Copenhagen, could tell you a lot more about this. The fact that he is here as head of the Czechoslovak delegation testifies clearly to the depth of the changes which took place in our country.

Following Up on the Helsinki Process

The overall favorable evaluation of the human dimension mechanism, however, should not conceal the fact that its nature and the manner in which it works still bear a strong imprint of bipolarity. I am facing the question of how to continue, how to adapt this mechanism, how to complete it, and how to make it more precise in accordance with the changed political situation on the continent. We support and will support all the suggestions which will be presented here in this respect—for example, the proposal to establish free elections and political pluralism as a joint obligation for all the participants of the Helsinki process. We believe that the basic principles of this mechanism should be retained and further developed and that its control elements should be strengthened. The mechanism should be open to public and non- governmental organizations; it should be open to civic initiatives; and its ability to exert pressure on the governments of participating members should be increased. In the long term, it is also possible to consider that it could become a sort of the nucleus of the "European Humanitarian Inspection Authority," [Europska Humanitna Inspekcia] which would operatively survey—based on clearly defined rules—the factual situation where there is a suspicion of human rights violations and would suggest solutions to the pertinent governments.

We also believe that the institutionalized elements which are a part of the Helsinki process in the sphere of human rights should be gradually linked with those mechanisms which already exist in the Council of Europe. If we are to begin creating pan-European standards and norms of humanitarian cooperation then it will be necessary to start interconnecting those systems which are dedicated to this task. One of the first steps in this process could be the utilization of the structures of the Council of Europe for shaping the mechanism of the human dimension of the CSCE. We realize that this is a question which has many implications, the adequate consideration of which will require a certain amount of time. Nevertheless, the opening of the Council of Europe toward the central and eastern part of the continent, as well as a close cooperation of the Council with the United States and Canada, are an objective need.

Jointly for Everyone's Rights

One of the questions which we are facing is the question surrounding the rights of numerous national minorities, which we encounter in Central and East Europe more and more frequently. To this day, it seems, some kind of a protectionist understanding of this problem lingers on. The state, from the ethnic community of which this or that national minority originates, assumes a right or the obligation—based on this ethnic proximity— to check how the minorities rights are respected in its neighbor country. The state on the territory of which the minority is situated has a tendency, on the other hand, to accuse his neighbor of interference in its internal affairs and of inciting irredentism. A vicious circle thus develops in which the wrongdoings of the past are restated. It seems more sensible to us to pay attention to tomorrow's friendly coexistence and to care about everybody's rights, irrespective of the language he speaks. We believe it would be more efficient and more practical to jointly deal with the minorities' rights also in cases when there is no one to protect the ethnic group. For example, such an ethnic group are Romanies in our country, whose situation is instructive for us in the sense of enforcing minorities' rights. We understand the minorities' rights as a specific part of a more general complex of questions and that is why we would like to jointly arrive at a more general solution and create a collective system of rules and guarantees which would utilize the existing institutions, agreements, and conventions which are already in force. From this point of view, there are two documents which are important for Czechoslovakia: The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. I intend to announce to you that:

1. My government has prepared a proposal for Czechoslovakia's accession to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This will be discussed by the new parliament as one of its first tasks.

2. We want to join the European Convention on Human Rights and thereby surrender ourselves to the executive mechanisms of which this convention avails itself. Briefly speaking, Czechoslovakia is prepared—in the sphere of human rights—to surrender a part of its sovereignty to a supra-national body and to respect its decisions. At the same time Czechoslovakia suggests that all the countries which joined the Helsinki documents do so. In this connection, we want to inform you that within the framework of the Pentagonal Regional Group, within which we cooperate with Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Italy, we have prepared a proposal regarding national minorities, which we are jointly presenting to this commission.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.

De Maiziere on NATO Membership, Soviet Troops

PM1506152690 Madrid ABC in Spanish 13 Jun 90 p 32

[Interview with Premier Lothar de Maiziere by Michael Meyer and Juan Vicente Boo; place and date not given; first paragraph is ABC introduction]

[Text] Berlin/New York—After confirming to the U.S. President his stance in favor of a united Germany's remaining in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Premier Lothar de Maiziere emphasized the desirability of satisfying the USSR's security interests and ensuring for that country an institutional role in the continent's future. These were ideas which the East German politician set out in this interview with ABC.

[ABC] Can you see the beginning of an agreement for a united Germany being a member of NATO?

[De Maiziere] You know that there are reservations on the part of the European countries, and especially of the Soviet Union, about NATO in its current and past form. Of course, it could also be said that deferring this issue during the summit could be deemed a failure.

On the other hand, it could be deemed a good thing that both the United States and the Soviet Union said that this is a matter which must be discussed together with Germany. So it is clear that this stance respects the right of self-determination, and it is almost a step in the direction which the two-plus-four talks should take, especially regarding the relinquishment of the allies' rights over Germany.

[ABC] What agreement could possibly be reached?

[De Maiziere] I believe that it would be a good thing if we could outline a security plan for the next few years; one which would not exclude the Soviet Union. Once we achieve this, it will be easier to talk about forms of transition. Perhaps over the last few weeks we have talked too much about the "path" to be followed, and not about the goal in itself.

From German Dignity...

[ABC] How long will the Soviet troops remain in East Germany?

[De Maiziere] I believe that the aim should be for the Soviet troops to withdraw from Germany once a definite date has been set, but I believe that it is conceivable that this will happen after Germany has been united.

There are 360,000 troops—some of them with their families. There is a great deal of technical and military equipment there. It is understandable that the Soviet Union will have difficulties in accommodating them all. There is no room for them, or work, or support facilities. We also know that ecological problems could result from an overhasty withdrawal. There are vast quantities of fuel reserves. All this must be resolved with common sense if we want our underground water supplies to remain in a fit state.

[ABC] Is there anything in particular which West Germany does not have and which East Germany could offer a united Germany?

[De Maiziere] In my statement on the government's policy, I said that our contribution would be our identity and our dignity. That is also our history, which is marked by a sense of guilt but also by a courageous resistance.

I believe that there are not many West Germans who have the right to consider themselves superior to the citizens of East Germany regarding conduct and dignity, since they have lived under more favorable conditions.

In the course of the last 40 years we have developed—even if it was no more than a reaction against external pressure—a special form of solidarity in our way of relating to other human beings. My great hope is that we will be able to bring some of this solidarity with us. This solidarity also entails a spiritual relationship with the peoples of East Europe.

For instance, an East German orchestra plays Shostakovich differently from how a West European orchestra would do so. The East German orchestra would play Shostakovich more authentically.

...to Date of Elections

[ABC] Do you believe that elections will be held in the two Germanys at the end of this year or at the beginning of next year, as the FRG chancellor proposes?

[De Maiziere] In the first place, we must discuss the internal and external aspects, and the date of the elections depends on those results, but we wish to do nothing to delay the process. We are all working 18-20 hours a day.

[ABC] What will happen on 2 July—the date when monetary unification will take place? How many German enterprises do you believe will go bankrupt? How high will the unemployment rate rise?

[De Maiziere] In the little time at our disposal, we have tried to analyze the current state of business, applying certain criteria. We have reached the conclusion that 30 percent of our enterprises are able to compete in an open market right now. In addition, 40-50 percent of our businesses could be enabled to compete in this market

through limited aid and some structural adjustments. Only 20 percent of businesses will have grave difficulties.

[ABC] Should Berlin be the capital of a united Germany, and, if so, when?

[De Maiziere] Let us leave open the second part of your question... As for the first, I must say that I am a Berliner and that I cannot even imagine another city being the capital of Germany. I respect other people's opinions, but I believe that a united Germany will play an important role as a bridge between West Europe and East Europe, and for that very reason, Berlin has a great deal to offer as a future capital.

Genscher, Meckel Meet in East Berlin

LD1706083890 Hamburg DPA in German 0811 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel [Social Democratic Party] and Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher [Free Democratic Party] met in East Berlin for talks before the start of ceremonies marking 17 June. Genscher arrived at the GDR's Foreign Ministry three-quarters of an hour late. Asked about the reasons for the delay, the foreign minister responded: "I would also like to know." [passage omitted] As became known following the talks between the two foreign ministers, Meckel and Genscher did not agree on the date for all-German elections. While Genscher believed that the date should be set now, Meckel said that all outstanding issues must first be solved. The date of the elections cannot be the measure for solving German problems.

FRG Parliamentarians Jeered in GDR

LD1706095490 Hamburg DPA in German 0929 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Parliamentarians from the Federal Republic were booed and jeered this morning in East Berlin by several hundred demonstrators just before the first joint memorial session of both German parliaments. Demonstrators vociferously shouted demands for a "referendum" and called for the FRG to get out of the GDR. Apart from this they sang the Internationale. They carried GDR national flags and shouted "We are the People."

17 Jun Observed With FRG Officials Present

LD1706105690 Hamburg DPA in German 0935 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—This morning around 1,000 deputies from the Bundestag and the GDR's People's Chamber assembled in East Berlin's Schauspielhaus for a ceremony commemorating 17 June. President of the GDR People's Chamber Frau Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, who had issued the invitations for the event, will deliver a message of greetings. Afterward the president of the Bundestag, Rita Suessmuth, will speak. The memorial address will be given by Consistory President Manfred Stolpe. There will be classical music played between the speeches.

Suessmuth: Germany Facing New Beginning

LD1706123790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"We face a joint new beginning in Germany." German Bundestag President Prof. Dr. Rita Suessmuth stated this at the ceremony to commemorate 17 June 1953 in the Schauspielhaus in Berlin. The date 17 June 1953 spans the bow to 9 October and 19 November 1989. However, 17 June this year was different from those in the 36 years before. It has never been as indisputable as in this year. "Previously it was only in the FRG that we could commemorate in sadness the uprising of 1953, could demand freedom, and urge the overcoming of the division of Germany and Europe," she emphasized. "Today, for the first time, we are experiencing together on 17 June a day of joy at the victory of freedom and democracy in the GDR and in East Europe." This was a moving hour for the deputies of the two German parliaments. "What the rulers in the GDR wanted to last 100 years—separation, division, lack of freedom—was eliminated in less than a year by courageous people," the Bundestag president said to the applause of those participating. [passage omitted]

Kohl: Date About Freedom, Unification

LD1706110990 Hamburg DPA in German 0952 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said before the start of the ceremony in East Berlin for 17 June that the whole event made an enormous impression "which gets under your skin." The 17th of June 1953 was a matter of freedom and unification. The victims of this popular uprising have to be remembered.

The demonstrators in front of East Berlin's Schauspielhaus are a group of people who have learned nothing from history and who also do not want to learn anything from history. The difference in comparison to 1953 is that today people are allowed to demonstrate and not, as then, be put in prison.

Kohl on Unification, Polish Border

LD1806110390 Hamburg DPA in German 1034 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Kohl said that he had followed with great interest the discussion in the People's Chamber about the GDR accession to the Federal Republic in accordance with Article 23 of the Basic Law. However, the GDR has the first word in the fixing of a date.

The federal chancellor reaffirmed that the unity of Germany is only possible with simultaneous recognition of the border with Poland. This is a necessary but "bitter" decision. "What we need now is reconciliation, peace, and good- neighborliness." The Germans should, in his opinion, not strive for a peace treaty because then the country would be faced with financial demands. "There will be no such peace treaty," Kohl said. Referring to the NATO membership of a united Germany, he emphasized that he will fight "passionately" against assigning the Germans special status. Singularizing the Germans would destroy the balance of Europe. Work must be done on an agreement with the Soviet Union.

De Maiziere, Kohl Meet for Talks 17 Jun

LD1706115890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1143 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government heads of the two German states, Lothar de Maiziere and Helmut Kohl, met for a working meeting today in the headquarters of the GDR Council of Ministers in Berlin. Minister in the Premier's Office Klaus Reichenbach, Federal Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble, and Minister in the Federal Chancellory Rudolf Seiters took part in the discussion. Nothing was announced as to the content of the talks.

Crowd Gives Mixed Support

LD1706124890 Hamburg DPA in German 1154 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—As they left today's 17 June memorial ceremony, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the GDR's premier, Lothar de Maiziere, were received with whistles and boos from people assembled outside East Berlin's Schauspielhaus. However, amid these expressions of displeasure, many "Helmut, Helmut" calls could be heard. Kohl, who afterward withdrew for a meeting with the head of the GDR Government, approached the crowd and shook many hands.

Kohl Attends People's Chamber Session

LD1706132190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1306 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl took his seat on the parliament's guest tribune at the start of the special GDR People's Chamber session. The session began late because there were prolonged discussions on the agenda in the parliamentary committees.

DSU Motion Shows Desire for Early Unity

LD1706153690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1442 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Federal Interior Minister Schaeuble (Christian Democratic Union) said that the German Social Union's motion is an expression of the desire for early German unification. However, he does not intend to comment further, the politician said when leaving the People's Chamber. Pressure for unification has not emanated from the FRG Government. It is remarkable, however, that support has also come from deputies of other People's Chamber groups, in particular from the Social Democratic Party [SPD]. FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl left the People's Chamber session together with Schaeuble who, like SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel and Lower House President Rita Suessmuth, witnessed the session from the listeners' platform.

Currency Conversion Details for Foreigners

AU1606090190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Jun 90 p 5

[ADN report: "Conversion of Currency for Foreigners"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The conversion of currency for foreigners working in the GDR will take place in the same way as for GDR citizens, through accounts, government spokesman Matthias Gehler stated on Friday [8 June].

Accounts are to be opened for all persons, including children, and a form has to be filled out and submitted to the financial institutions where the account has been opened. The money will be converted at the general rate of 2 Ostmarks [M] against 1 Deutsche mark [DM]. Savings of up to M4,000 will be converted at the more favorable 1:1 rate. Savings of up to M2,000 of children born after 1 July 1976 will be exchanged at a 1:1 rate. [passage omitted]

Christian Democrats Support Second State Treaty

AU1806010890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Jun 90 p 1

[NZ report: "CDU Advocates Second State Treaty"]

[Text] East Berlin—The GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] welcomes the proposal for a second state treaty presented by Wolfgang Thierse, the new chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD]. At the same time it questions his demand for a slower pace in the process of German unity.

As CDU press spokesman Helmut Lueck noted in a press statement that in a second state treaty "all details of the legal systems adjustment" would have to be "thoroughly settled." This is not a special SPD demand but a consensus of the coalition.

It remains questionable whether the further development really permits a slower pace in the process of German unification. The difficulties, which are to be expected, and the resulting social tensions make quick unification very desirable. An all-German government could master many problems better and could redistribute them more easily in a joint state, Lueck said. There also remains the danger of gambling away the chance of unification.

SPD No Longer Supports Unification in 1990

LD1806135590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] no longer believes that all-German elections and accession to the basic law according to Article 23 can take place this year. Party chairman Wolfgang Thierse thus contradicted on Monday the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], which yesterday mentioned December as a likely month for elections.

Thierse said at his first news conference as party chairman in Berlin that the democratic formation of the Laender is the most important practical consideration for accession. This cannot be done "from one day to the next." Other essential conditions are the clarification of the external aspects and the working out of a unification treaty.

The SPD is in favor of involving the people themselves in the unification process and of adopting a "modernized basic law" by way of referendum. Should these preconditions not be met, Thierse said he can imagine a break-up of the grand coalition in the GDR.

Waigel Calls for RAF-Stasi Link Investigation

LD1606094690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—In the opinion of Christian Social Union Chairman Theo Waigel, a People's Chamber investigative committee should obtain clarification about the extent of aid on behalf of the state security service for RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorists. In an article for BILD AM SONNTAG, the federal finance minister explains his proposal by saying that the GDR has not only been an escape route for the murderers and bombers, but also somewhere they could retreat to. "Those who protected the RAF against prosecution and made life possible for the terrorists under a false name must be brought before the courts for promoting and supporting a criminal organization." In this context Waigel demands clarification of the role of all politicians in the current Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Party for Democratic Socialism who were linked to the former Ministry for State Security.

FRG Laender To Cooperate in Terrorist Hunt

LD1806164190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Stuttgart (ADN)—The Federal Laender intend to coordinate their hunt for terrorists with the GDR and have pledged their "full support" to GDR Interior Minister Diestel in the search for RAF [Red Army Faction] members. The chairman of the conference of interior ministers, Baden-Wuerttemberg's Interior Minister Dietmar Schlee (CDU) [CDU]), announced in Stuttgart today that he will meet with GDR Interior Minister Diestel (DSU) [German Social Union] in East Berlin tomorrow for this purpose. They will discuss the background of the terrorist hunt currently under way in the GDR and the cooperation between investigators in the Federal Laender and the GDR.

At the same time, however, support for the RAF from the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime must be fully exposed. The arrest of alleged RAF terrorists shows that the GDR was a veritable "refuge," the minister said. There is a danger that those wielding power in the former SED regime supported the terrorists in quite a different way, too.

Diestel on Possible Prosecution of Mielke

LD1706120190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1013 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel considers proceedings against former Stasi chief Mielke to be the legal consequences of the former state leadership's possible cooperation with terrorists. He cannot institute these proceedings. If the fact that terrorists were supported is shown, however, then this is followed by a legal responsibility. Then the accusations made previously will have to be extended, the minister stated today to journalists on the sidelines of a ceremony in Berlin honoring the victims of Stalinism.

On the subject of the latest demands by FRG politicians for an investigative committee to clear up these connections, Diestel said that from his point of view, with the government committee and the parliamentary investigative committee there are "sufficient bodies to suitably carry out this public work." The minister described the statement by his Federal German counterpart Schaeuble, according to which former Stasi people can be linked with the Red Army Faction, as a supposition that is not to be ruled out. He hopes the next few days and weeks, however, will provide an opportunity "to clarify here in order to rule out the possibility of this dangerous alliance." He sees the agreement between the terrorists and units of the former state security service in parallels from the past that have to be stopped. He will exert his influence so that this will also happen as soon as possible and directly, also in the interests of the former state security workers who are not guilty criminally.

According to Diestel, the presumed terrorists have to be called to account where they committed their offenses—namely, in the FRG.

The investigations previously permitted the conclusion to be drawn that more terrorists had gone underground in the GDR, Diestel said. The investigations have not yet been able to go back to information from former Stasi workers. If someone who was formerly responsible came to him in order to make disclosures, then he would take the opportunity in the interests of being able to combat terrorism more effectively, the minister said.

Arrest Warrants for Three RAF 'Terrorists'

LD1706225390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin City Court issued a warrant for the arrest of the RAF terrorists Horst Winter, alias Ekkehard Freiherr von Seckendorf-Gudent; Werner Lotze, alias Manfred Janssen; and Monika Helbing, alias Elke Winter, detained in the GDR. This follows yesterday's complaint from the GDR General State Prosecutor about the refusal of the Central Municipal Court to arrest the three persons. [passage omitted]

Alleged RAF Terrorist Maier-Witt Detained

LD1806200290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1948 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The alleged RAF [Red Army Faction] terrorist Silke Maier-Witt was detained this afternoon in the GDR by a task force from the Central Criminal Office working in collaboration with local officers of the People's Police. This was announced this evening by the GDR Interior Ministry.

Soviet Military Truck Explodes; Cause Unknown

LD1806130190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1213 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—The Soviet military vehicle which blew up in Burg district last Friday, was carrying guided antitank missiles. The type SIL-131 truck was also carrying 131 artillery shells of up to 100-mm. This was learned on Monday from the Army Staff of the Western Group of Soviet Forces, Lieutenant Colonel Boerner of the Magdeburg Army area command told ADN.

The cause of the explosion is still unknown. [passage omitted]

People's Chamber Session Approves Trust law

LD1806012890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2006 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In its 15th session, the People's Chamber this evening adopted the trust law by a large majority, which will form the basis for the privatization and reorganization of nationally owned property. In the second and last reading [as received] at a late hour, the parliamentary groups of the CDU/DA [Christian Democratic Union/Democratic Awakening], the Liberals, the SPD [Social Democratic Party], and the DBD/DFD [Democratic Peasant Party/Democratic Women's League] renounced their speaking time after Dr. Jochen Steinecke (LDP) [Liberal Democratic Party] pointed out that there was a variety of opportunities in the process of changing a "command economy into a market economy." The main idea of the trust law is to reprivatize nationally owned property as quickly and as much as possible, to create competitiveness for as many entrepreneurs as possible, and thus to secure and create jobs. At a later date an attested right to a share in the presently nationally owned property will be accorded to all savers for the amount by which their savings were reduced in the currency conversion of 2 July. [passage omitted]

SPD Chairman Thierse on Relations With PDS

AU1606113190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Wolfgang Thierse, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) chairman, by Tomas Kittan; place and date not given: "New head of the SPD Repeats Claims Toward Party of Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] [Kittan] Will you reply to the open letter addressed to the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] by Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] chairman Gregor Gysi?

[Thierse] From the information I have received, some colleagues within the SPD are drafting an answer. I have not yet felt called upon to do that. I do not know whether I will have time in the next few days to write a longer letter which needs careful consideration.

[Kittan] Should one answer this letter at all?

[Thierse] In his letter, Gregor Gysi broached a number of different issues. Let me mention the topic "The left in Germany and in Europe." It is true that one must think about the fate of the left. I see two central tasks. First of all, pitiless self-criticism among the left is necessary.

[Kittan] What should this self-criticism be like?

[Thierse] The left must not take the easy way out and say that what we witnessed in the past 70 years was state socialism. We must realize that this was the result of socialism.

[Kittan] What about the second task?

[Thierse] A different relationship between the SPD and PDS might be possible in the future, if the PDS comes to terms with its past in material and practical terms.

[Kittan] What specifically does this mean for you?

[Thierse] One cannot simply adopt a new name and claim to be a new party and be the legal successor who takes over the old party's property at the same time. Let me put this in the orthodox-Marxist way: Property issues are also power issues.... If these issues are not clarified, relations between the SPD and the PDS will not change.

PDS Executive Discusses Future Program

LD1706155790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1459 GMT 17 Jul 90

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin this weekend, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Party Executive discussed the existence and the political effectiveness of

a strong, united left-wing movement in a future Germany. It emerges from a press communication that Chairman Gregor Gysi referred to the need for a new program and a new identity. The Party Executive decided that the PDS will devote its primary attention, at a renewal conference in September, to questions concerning further elaboration of such a program's content. Honorary Chairman Hans Modrow also stressed that, in light of the GDR's accession to the FRG being effected at lightning speed, a course must be set for the process of PDS renewal. Member of the Presidium Jochen Willerding emphasized that an all-German approach is now essential for the PDS. In the course of this development, the PDS will be a new and, in many respects, a different party, but nevertheless a socialist one.

Marlies Deneke, head of the Committee for Women, Youth and Sport, and Andre Brie, head of the Political Education Committee and of the PDS Election Office, were elected new deputy party chairpersons.

Liberal Democrats Seek Party Merger

LD1806132490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1222 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The League of Free Democrats (BFD) called in a press statement on Monday for the speedy unification of the liberal parties in Germany. The merger originally planned for the end of September 1990 would be too late the statement published on the occasion of the BFD Presidium session, which ended yesterday, says. [passage omitted]

The body fully supports the statement by party chairman Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb in the People's Chamber debate on 17 June. The way toward unity should proceed quickly and circumspectly according to Article 23 of the Basic Law and be concluded by September at the latest, so that all-German elections can take place in December. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Watches Naval Maneuvers

LD1806134190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1246 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Diarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann inspected on Monday on board the "Wismar" coastal protection vessel training maneuvers of the People's Navy in the area of the sea north of the Darss peninsula. The crews of several Navy units demonstrated defensive action against submarines and mines as well as air and speedboat defense exercises. Naval Air Forces were also deployed in sea rescue operations. [passage omitted]

Antall, Austria's Vranitzky Open Sopron Talks

Preliminary Private Talks Held

LD1806104890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] [Austrian Chancellor] Franz Vranitzky and Jozsef Antall began discussions in Sopron this morning. Our special staff member, Gabor Bankuti, reports:

[Bankuti] The one-on-one discussions indicate that the Hungarian-Austrian summit meeting will be fruitful. The first personal contact between Premier Jozsef Antall and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky took 45 minutes instead of the planned half hour, but this was worth as much as an hour and a half, since there was no need for an interpreter at their dialogue. In the first minutes of the plenary meeting, which was attended by experts of state secretarial rank, when journalists were also allowed to be present in the small council chamber of Sopron town hall, Jozsef Antall announced that at their one-on-one discussion they have already achieved results on several issues. [passage omitted]

Topics, Results Noted

LD1806144790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Today Jozsef Antall and Franz Vranitzky, the Hungarian and Austrian heads of government, are discussing in detail the two countries' relations. Gabor Bankuti reports on the Sopron talks:

[Bankuti] A committee will be formed to review Hungarian-Austrian economic relations. We will help organize the Budapest-Vienna world exhibition. The government has entrusted Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, to direct it. Six new border-crossing stations will be established, although even more will be needed.

There was no debate about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros compensation payments.

In January, Hungary will launch into a three-year economic program, the set target of which is to beat down inflation and enliven undertakings, and in the coming days there will be rapid action to put an end to the mutual indebtedness of enterprises and their lining up for their own money, because this debt grows weekly by billions. In the course of this action, bankruptcy proceedings will be started against 34 enterprises, not to liquidate them but to privatize them, so that they can be operated in a healthier organizational form. Premier Jozsef Antall briefed Chancellor Franz Vranitzky about this.

Spokesman Reports on Talks

LD1806155490 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—A Hungaro-Austrian prime minsterial meeting was held in Sopron on Monday. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky held tete-a-tete talks at the town hall, then attended the plenary session of the two delegations.

At noon, when the talks were still on, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told the press that the first phase of negotiations had focused on foreign policy issues.

Antall emphasized his government would like to see Hungary's joining the Council of Europe as soon as possible. He asked for Austrian support so that this step should not be linked with other East European countries' admission although Hungary was not competing with Poland and Czechoslovakia in this sense.

Antall expressed thanks to Chancellor Vranitzky for Austria's paving the way for an agreement between Hungary and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

The prime minister stressed the shared aim of approaching to, and becoming full members of, the European Communities. Both of them are convinced that the two states can only join the EC after the establishment of a single European market in 1992. Hungary would like to become a full member of the EC simultaneously with, or shortly after, Austria, in the second half of the 1990s.

Vranitzky said it would now be useless exerting external pressure on the Common Market which was concentrating on its integrational plans required for the single internal market, first of all the Monetary Union.

Vranitzky proposed that in the forthcoming years the two countries should gradually develop an integrated chain of relations, leading from bilateral commercial and economic cooperation to regional cooperation.

Antall, Vranitzky Hold News Conference

LD1806204790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Report by correspondent Gabor Bankuti on the news conference of Premier Jozsef Antall and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky at Sopron City Hall on 18 June—Antall's remarks recorded; Vranitzky's remarks recorded in German with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] The discussions of the Hungarian premier and the Austrian chancellor at Sopron City Hall lasted 150 minutes, to this we can add another 50 minutes for informal discussions without interpreters. But even without this the planned timetable was exceeded, and the press conference planned for midday did not begin until after 1230.

First, Jozsef Antall described the discussions to the journalists, including Vienna correspondents from many of the world's major newspapers.

[Antall] I believe the most important result of the present meeting is that we could discuss all the questions of importance for the relations of Austria and Hungary. We

coordinated our ideas about the Common Market. We have agreed to send a small, high-level committee to carry out a quick reevaluation of Austrian-Hungarian relations.

In bilateral relations we touched on the compensation claims by the Austrian side in connection with the Bos-Nagymaros power station, and the question of the Vienna-Budapest World Expo. We stated that, under the established terms, Hungary wishes to take part in the organization of the Vienna-Budapest exhibition. We informed the chancellor that government commissioner Bela Kadar, minister for international economic relations, will be dealing with the affairs of the world expo in the future.

We also agreed on promoting the creation of an Austria house in Budapest. This would be a building used for cultural, commercial, representative and other purposes.

[Bankuti] Premier Antall's information was supplemented by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

[Vranitzky] I told the premier that everything he proposed to me—that is, that we should continue the relations between our countries in accordance with earlier traditions, that we should reach new levels in cooperation between Austria and Hungary—meets with the fullest agreement of our government, the Austrian Government. This proposal would also mean that at a later stage the two of us, Austria and Hungary, in the future, whenever possible, would formulate a common viewpoint about every important internatioanl economic and poitical question. This would affect our actions in the Alps-Adria cooperation, the Pentagonal, and our relations with EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. We would coordinate our policies in the Council of Europe and other international organizations. I believe this would be advantageous, not only for us, but for the other European countries as well.

Concerning our economic relations, we would like to promote the participation of smaller companies, smaller capital groups in the transformations now taking place in Hungary. This we support unconditionally. We expect a great deal from this, because it has a part in strengthening the relations—perhaps I could say, relations based on confidence between our countries—and also assists in creating the kind of links required by major industries at a later stage. That is, we should build up a suitable infrastructure network between Austria and Hungary.

The joint world exhibition which Premier Antall said—and we were very glad to hear—Hungary is ready to organize, also serves the closer links between our countries. The confirmation of the participation of Hungary, I must declare, reassures us.

Concerning the establishment of the Austria House, this will be not only an instrument of creating closer relations but the confirmation of how good these relations are.

[Bankuti] On behalf of Hungarian Radio I asked the two heads of government how they see the future, the role of the five-member Adria-Danube partnership in the united Europe of the future. First, the guest replied.

[Vranitzky] I believe that in addition to the large, all-European organizations, the regional groupings involving only a few countries have a very important role. There are quite a number of such questions to which answers can be given by these regional organizations. I am thinking of environmental protection, trade, transport, and some of the economic problems. I think it must be stressed that in the Alps-Adria cooperation we are not talking about a new form of Central European political grouping—quite the contrary, as the listed common questions indicate. This is basically an economic grouping which does not wish to concern itself with politics and, if you like, I will say with the question of borders.

[Bankuti] Jozsef Antall gave the following reply to the same question.

[Antall] Agreeing with what the chancellor has already said, I believe that these regional cooperations are definitely useful. Especially because these countries, Hungary among them, cannot immediately join the large European integrations. Partly because the capacity to receive them does not yet exist, because the Common Market itself is at a stage when they are entering a new period with the 1992 customs union and every other respect. So it is extremely important that during this period there should be bilateral associations, and it is very important that regional cooperations should take place.

We had already discussed these issues with Polish Premier Mazowiecki in Budapest. Of course, we must not make unrealistic demands on these regional cooperations, since countries at different stages of development are involved, with different structures and different economic capacities. But certainly both the Adria-Alps program, which is in fact useful within a region which means immediate cooperation economically on the borders of the countries, and the Adria-Danube program is also useful where countries at different stages of economic development, countries of different national composition have entered into agreement with each other.

[Bankuti] The reporter from Austrian radio asked about compensation in the matter of Bos-Nagymaros and about border crossing points. He asked Jozsef Antall to reply also in German. Jozsef Antall allowed Vranitzky to speak first on this most sensitive question.

[Vranitzky] In connection with the Bos-Nagymaros power staion, more precisely as regards the compenation, first, let me remind you what actually happened. Some Austrian companies signed contracts with the Hungarian Government, which after a time reconsidered and decided not to adhere to its earlier undertaken contractual obligations. It is a question of some 3 billion schillings, although I would like to state this is approximate, for the precise figure has not yet been clarified. We talked not about this with Premier Antall, that is, the sum of the compensation, but about its manner. It is thus

a question of how Hungary should pay compensation to the Austrian companies concerned. We agreed with Mr Antall that we will acquaint the Austrian enterprises with the possible options, for several ideas exist. We hope we will find the solution within a few weeks.

[Bankuti] Jozsef Antall added that in fact they had spoken not about the sum but about the way of implementing this. We have confidence that the organization of the world expo will provide the opportunity to pay off at least part of this. [passage omitted]

[Budapest MTI in English at 1920 GMT on 18 June carries a Budapest-datelined report on the news conference which adds: "Hungary intends to withdraw form the Warsaw Treaty's military organization by the end of 1991. The Hungarian side did not wish to disrupt the Vienna arms reduction talks with an immediate withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and holds it important, in the interest of successful talks, that this process cover an 18-month period, Mr Antall said in answer to another question. He stressed the interestedness of the Hungarian side in the creation of a European security system, and the need for NATO to re-evaluate its military doctrine."]

Horn Interviewed on Talks With SPD in FRG

AU1906124390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "Gyula Horn Grants Interview to NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Excerpts] [Vajda] Mr Horn, you visited the FRG recently. What talks did you have there and did you talk about the relations of the MSZP with the Socialist International?

[Horn] I did not to to Frankfurt for talks, but to participate in a traditional roundtable discussion as lecturer; negotiations were initiated by my hosts. I met with Mr. Vogel and Mr. Ehmke in Bonn, and with Willy Brandt in Frankfurt. They were very interested in the current development in Hungary and the situation of the MSZP. I regard the attitude of the SPD as particularly strange—namely their distance from the MSZP after October 1989, despite the fact that, at the beginning of the seventies, accepting tough criticism, the reform politicians of the Hungarian party acted as initiators and really helped the FRG social democrats to set up a bridge in this area. After October 1989, the SPD supported the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP]. My partners did not argue about the correctness of my claims and told me that they would reexamine their positions. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] What does Gorbachev's message [not further specified] contain, and what will the future of the MSZP-CPSU relations be?

[Horn] The Soviet ambassador called me up yesterday to congratulate me on the occasion of my election as chairman of the MSZP. He said that the CPSU would gladly contact the MSZP. This is quite understandable because the CPSU also has contacts with the other social democratic parties.

[Vajda] In other words, this is no longer the old style "fraternal party" relations?

[Horn] Of course not, but relations like the ones connecting the CPSU with the social democratic party in the FRG and other social democratic parties. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] Mr Horn, you did not participate in the Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow, and this is also part of the change in the regime, but obviously you have an opinion about the activity of the Hungarian delegation; as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly you also have more information....

[Horn] Arpad Goncz, Jozsef Antall, and Lajos Fur informed us about the meeting on 11 June. I also told them at the meeting that they achieved the maximum that could be achieved at this point, and this is in harmony with the ideas represented by the six parties. We must take three things into consideration: First, we are almost alone among the Warsaw Pact member countries with our firm position. Second, there are certain Soviet military leaders who would not be sorry at all if no agreement emerged at the Vienna disarmament talks. Third, it is a vital European and Hungarian interest to achieve an agreement at the conference of the 23 states in Vienna where the Warsaw Pact member countries also participate as full members. [passage omitted]

Interest Expressed in West's Military Expertise

LD1806133590 Budapest MTI in English 1240 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In a statement to the Budapest daily the "MAGYAR HIRLAP", a senior Hungarian Defence Ministry official said the new Hungarian Government was very interested in getting hold of West German, French, Swedish and Swiss military technology.

Colonel Gyorgy Szentesi, head of the security policy department at the Ministry of Defence, told ECONEWS that hand guns and vehicles apart, Hungary would be interested in buying all sorts of advanced military technology.

The only problem, he added, is the general shortage of funds.

The Hungarian Army has a budget of 46 billion forints (708 million USD) of the sum—that amounts to 9 per cent—on development.

The ideal proportion would be around the 30-35 per cent mark.

With 4 billion forints, the Army could buy, say, three F-16 planes, but then nothing (?would be) left over for ground control equipment, Col. Szentesi explained.

The Hungarian Army will, therefore, be trying to acquire new weapons and equipment through cooperation or barter arrangements.

Another very good thing would be for Hungarian soldiers to be trained in some Western country.

The Federal Republic of Germany would be the first choice in this respect.

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will be starting talks in the FRG tomorrow, and Western German Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is scheduled to come here in early July.

European Union To Admit Coalition Parties

LD1506214990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Excerpt] The board of directors of the European Democratic Union has decided at its Paris meeting to offer full membership to the three parties of the Hungarian Government coalition. Thus, in all certainty, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP), and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) will be admitted among the members of the organization at the August meeting of the Union. [passage omitted]

MDF Becomes Permanent, Full Member

LD1606175290 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The European Democratic Union (EDU) has admitted the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] as a permanent and full member.

At the proposal of Alois Mock, Austrian minister of foreign affairs and vice chancellor, prime minister Jozsef Antall, president of the HDF [MDF], and Jacques Chirac, president of the RPR [Rally for the Republic] in France, were elected as vice presidents.

EC Asked To Mediate in Power Plant Dispute

LD1706092990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpt] At the all-European environmental protection meeting being held in the Irish capital, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have called on the European Community's commission to mediate in the dispute surrounding the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower plant. Prague and Budapest would also like the community to prepare a study on the ecological problems of the entire Danube region. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Proceeding on Schedule

LD1806124190 Budapest MTI in English 1139 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Hungary is going on as scheduled, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, told MTI. By Monday morning, 136 troop-trains and 116 freight trains have left Hungary.

Under the bilateral agreement, 312 trains are scheduled to leave the country by the end of June.

National Assets To Be Returned

LD1806132790 Budapest MTI in English 1247 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—When the Soviet Army has finally withdrawn from Hungary, about 150 billion forints worth of national assets will be returned to Hungarian use, the Hungarian Government spokesman announced after the weekend meeting of the Hungarian cabinet.

The Hungarian state currently owns 4.130 billion forints' worth of property, of which that to be returned by the Soviets accounts for 3.6 per cent. However, the Soviet Union is looking for compensation for the property.

The government insists that the Soviet Army has not obtained ownership rights for buildings and facilities they built from their own resources, and is therefore unwilling to pay anything in compensation for such buildings, particularly as the Soviet army has failed to maintain most of them properly, and so their value has considerably dropped.

Since the Soviet Army withdrawal started in March this year, over 10,000 Soviet soldiers have left Hungary and the Hungarian Army has taken over 9 army camps.

Soviet Apology Demanded at Nagy Commemorations

LD1606202390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] One year after the June 16 burial, which was also a historical turning point in the life of our country, a reverent commemoration was held at plot 301 of the Rakoskeresztur new public cemetery, which is the actual or symbolic resting place of Imre Nagy and his martyr companions, and the heroes of the 1956 revolution. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] held a commemoration in the afternoon at the Batthyany memorial flame. Imre Nagy was led out to the small prison yard in 1958, but several hundred people were executed until 1962. This was therefore the most brutal and [word indistinct] vengeance wreaked in Hungarian history, said Imre Mecs. After the suppressed commemorations of past years, at today's celebration the speaker stressed that, according to his party, the most

important demand of our days is that the Soviet Union should ask Hungary's pardon for 1956, just as it has already apologized to Czechoslovakia for 1968.

After this, Miklos Hanko Farago evaluated the politics of our day and demanded resolution from the government.

Crude Oil Supply Agreement Signed With USSR

LD1606103590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] The Soviet Union will deliver to Hungary the crude oil quantity laid down in the exchange of goods agreement in the second half of the year. Representatives of the enterprises concerned have signed the civil law agreement on this in Moscow.

It transpires from the talks that the Soviet party has serious problems with the ruble-accounted oil export; however, it has promised that it will do everything to ensure the continuous Hungarian delivery.

USSR Agrees To Complete Deliveries

LD1806150190 Budapest MTI in English 1352 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet Union is to deliver to Hungary the 3.68 million tonnes of oil outstanding from this year's quota of 6.48 million tonnes, following an agreement signed over the weekend in Moscow between Soyuz-Neftexport of the USSR and the Mineralimpex Trading Company and the Hungarian Oil and Gas Trust.

Talks on the agreement were stalled for a time over a request by the Soviet supplier for a clause to be included in the agreement that will reduce its responsibility in the event of there being any delivery problems on the part of the oil mining companies. Recently the Soviet Government gave permission to the oil mining companies to sell directly 20 per cent of their production. In the end, no such clause was incuded, and Hungary has agreed to pay 90.3 roubles per tonne for the oil.

Next year when the two countries switch to hard currency payment of trade bills, the price of medium-quality Soviet oil will be linked to North Sea Brent crude prices.

In a few months' time the ministries of the two countries will meet to discuss details of the switch-over to hard currency payments. Hungary would like to continue to buy most of its oil from the Soviet Union, partly because the Soviet Union will accept goods in payment.

It seems almost certain now that the 2.8 million tonnes of oil contracted for the first half of the year will have been delivered by June 30. A shortfall in deliveries earlier this year forced Hungary to import 210,000 tonnes of Iraqi oil.

Goncz Receives Soviet Envoy's Credentials

Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, on Friday met Ivan Aboimov, the incoming ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics accredited to Hungary, who presented his credentials.

Ethnic Romanians Condemn Bucharest Violence

LD1506205290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Summary] The Democratic Federation of Romanians living in Hungary has, at its meeting today, spoken anxiously about the recent tragic events in Bucharest and condemned the violent methods employed against the demonstrating students.

Recently, the federation established links with the RMDSZ [Democratic Federation of Ethnic Hungarians in Romania]. They met Karol Kiraly, [deputy president of the Provisional National Unity Council and deputy president of the National Salvation Front] and they have issued a joint declaration about the basic principles of nationality issues. At the same time the Union of the Nationality Committees of Hungary has called on the nationalities of East Central Europe to gather together in a joint European nationality league.

Romanian Organization Votes To Dissolve

LD1506215190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Today, at Gyula the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary [MRDSZ] held an extraordinary board meeting. The subject was the forming of the new federation of Romanians. Here is an interview by Eva Cseh.

[Begin recording] [Cseh] The Board and National Council of the MRDSZ dissolved themselves today. Chairman Gyorgy Mihaiescu, why was this necessary?

[Mihaiescu] Because we wanted to create really free conditions for the preparation of a new independent Romanian organization in Hungary. So that these organizations could not, in any form, make use of the opportunities granted in their founding statutes, influence Romanian public opinion in Hungary in the elections and the creation of a suitable structure for them. [sentence as heard] However, even with the involvement of the Orthodox Church we did not succeed in involving all groups of Romanians, not even the Orthodox ones. This is a manifestation of the mistrust which exists about the old structure in the Romanian community.

[Cseh] What causes the greatest concern among Romanians in Hungary is the issue of assimilation, that in fact the Romanians do not speak the Romanian language.

[Mihaiescu] Here I must say that I do feel that, from somewhere above, there was an organized attempt to convince the nationalities, us included, that this is the case. It is not even true that the Romanians no longer speak the Romanian language. There is a dialect, and it even has varieties. Most Romanians still speak this today. [end recording]

Entrepreneurs Party Holds Second Congress

LD1806013190 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 17 (MTI)—The Entrepreneurs' Party held its second congress in Kecskemet during the weekend.

Two hundred and fifty delegates represented the ten-thousand-strong party, set up nine months ago.

The debate primarily focussed on domestic party affairs, with many delegates sharply criticizing the leadership that had just resigned because of their election failure.

After a long debate, decision was passed saying that Budapest should remain the center of the party, to be changed later to a different decision, namely that the party center should be set up always at the place where the leadership could work the most efficiently, since the bulk of the membership lives in the provinces.

Jozsef Rigo, 42, from Kecskemet was appointed as party president. He is owner of a restaurant in Kecskemet.

The congress also dealt with economic political questions. The speakers stressed that the current economic regulators hindered enterprise to such a great extent that far from development even long-term survival seemed impossible.

They proposed that the rate of total deductions should not exceed 50 per cent, as against the current 80-85 per cent.

Privatization Body Discusses Press Ownership

LD1406084590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Erika Gulyas report on the Press Privatization Committee]

[Summary] The director general of the newspaper publishing enterprise and the current and former leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] responsible for economic affairs have given an account about the fate of dailies and weeklies. Imre Nagy said that some papers, such as VASARNAPI HIREK, are owned 100 percent by the MSZP, while the party has retained only 45 percent ownership of others such as ESTI HIRLAP and FIGYELO and has handed over the rest to the newspaper publishing enterprise—in the case of ESTI HIRLAP in return for 40 million forints. The enterprise used revenue from the sale of SZABAD FOLD to pay for this. Nevertheless, Ferenc Wagner, director general of the enterprise, declared that no capital has moved so far in the ownership changes.

In light of this, it is questionable whether the MSZP's claim—of not receiving anything after the Budapest papers got into the hands of Axel Springer Budapest Ltd—is true. The Press Privatization Investigating Committee has received no answer.

Meanwhile the contract is ready for signing between Maxwell Publishing and the MSZP under which the party hands over for 50 million forints the 45 percent ownership rights in ESTI HIRLAP to the press magnate. The signing waits for the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise to become officially state-owned in accordance with the MSZP's offer. The enterprise owns 55 percent of ESTI HIRLAP.

New Commercial TV Channel Begins Broadcasting

LD1506142190 Budapest MTI in English 1332 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 15, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—TV-S, a new commercial TV channel, started broadcasting on Friday at Siofok, centre of the popular holiday resort of Lake Balaton.

The station is run by Balaton Channel, PLC, and is utilising the technical installations and frequencies of the local regional TV station to transmit programmes paid for by advertising until August 19, the end of the tourist season.

TV-S programmes can be received in the Lake Balaton area, and in the western regions of the country.

The number of viewers TV-S attracts is estimated at about five or six million.

The majority of programmes will be in German to meet the needs of the large number of German and Austrian tourists spending their vacation in the resort. There will also be some programmes in Hungarian, though.

The PLC is [as received] already has a permit from the Hungarian Ministry of Trade that gives it the green light to advertise both alcohol and tobacco in German.

Balaton Channel, PLC, founded last year with a starting capital of two million forints (33,000 usd), is owned by Filmpremier Video Studio, SIO Television (a foundation of Siofok City Council) and one private entrepreneur.

During last year's season, the channel broadcast video clips, and the venture has now grown into a 15-million-forint (230,000-USD) scheme for the summer season.

The late night hours will be reserved for striptease programmes—in which amateur participants will be invited to take part—and this period will be the most expensive to advertise in.

Spokesman Explains Self-Government Law

LD1506133690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Yesterday government spokesman Balazs Laszlo, for reasons beyond his control, was unable to give a detailed briefing to press representatives about what happened at yesterday's government session. Thus, journalists were summoned again for 1000 today to parliament house, where our editorial office was represented by Gabor Bankuti:

[Bankuti] The price of wheat will not be raised. The measure, passed under the former government, about the raising of medicine prices by 1 July, has been withdrawn, because they wish to conduct a general reassment of medicine prices in December.

Likewise, they have withdrawn the housing loan interest tax measure. Thus, those people who have paid it in to the constitutional court may get back their money, and, what is more, with a 10 percent supplement.

At its session, which lasted until midnight, the government relieved a further 13 leading diplomats—ambassadors and chief consuls. We were briefed about this by spokesman Balazs Laszlo, and then State Secretary Imre Verebelyi outlined the draft bill on self-government.

According to this, the right of self-government applies to local communities, including the capital's districts. Only a law can restrict this. The draft returns to self-government the high-density inner city areas. It provides assets for their management, and while a separate law will provide for the financial resources, certain guarantees are already contained in the draft. Self-government property will consist on the one hand of things given from the outset, and on the other hand, they will receive a proportion of state property, that which was self-government property earlier as well. However, they will not get the state property that had been taken away from private individuals. The money of self-governments will consist of own income, transmitted central taxes, and central budgetary contributions.

The bill obliges the self-governments to fulfill the services connected with human rights; however, it provides support for this.

In accordance with Hungarian traditions and characteristic European customs, there will be self-governing counties. However, not only will these not direct or command the self-governments, they might not even supervise them. This task will be performed by the county government commissioner, but even he cannot act in the case of a legal infringement, he can only turn to the courts.

The government proposes a compound form of elections. Up to 5,000, voters will designate the desired members of the body from a list to which the individual candidates are proposed either by parties or even by groups of 10 voting citizens. In settlements bigger than this, of up to 50,000 inhabitants, the candidates, nominated in exactly the same manner, will compete in individual constituencies. Finally, in cities with over 50,000 inhabitants, two-thirds of councillors would be elected in individual constituencies, one-third on the basis of party lists.

The election of mayors, according to the "A" version, would be the task of the self-governments; according to the "B" version the population would elect them directly.

The county self-governments would likewise be elected by the population. Here the method of nominating candidates is exactly the same as in the case of local self-governments, but there is a point worthy of attention: a mayor cannot be a parliamentary deputy.

Finally, State Secretary Imre Verebelyi stressed that it is not the government but the country that is running a race against time. For this reason, therefore, it is in the country's interest that the National Assembly adopt the self-government law in time—that is by 21 July.

National Assembly Holds 'Special Session'

LD1806123890 Budapest MTI in English 0911 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament started a special session in Budapest on Monday. Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of parliament, announced that the prime minister had proposed to put further two bills on the agenda. Accordingly, the MPs [members of parliament] are to discuss amendments to the law on the 1990 central budget and the law on mining.

Parliament decided to discuss some bills of urgency, and started a debate over an amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary.

Parliament accepted the government's proposal for discussing the following bills with urgency:

—Prolongation of the mandate of lay judges,

—Settlement of the effect of the 1989 law on taxation on the state loans for homebuilding in 1990,

—Amendment to the 1987 land law,

—Amendment to the 1960 law on mining,

—Amendment to the 1974 law decree on state and public security,

—Amendment to the 1990 law on the state property agency and on handling and utilizing its assets.

The house committee is to finalize the agenda of the Tuesday session in the afternoon.

Nemeth Proposal for Electing President

LD1806124890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0953 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Remarks by Miklos Nemeth, Independent deputy, at the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. President, esteemed National Assembly. I feel there is a very strong danger that the method of electing the president of our newborn Republic has become the center of a political struggle, a struggle which could, but should not, be won. It engages too much energy. [passage omitted]

For this reason now, together with my fellow deputy Zoltan Kiraly, we do not wish to argue in favor of one method of electing the president or another; it is not the earlier pronouncements of the various parties and politicians that we want to confront with their present-day selves, but we would like to propose a compromise which we consider rational. [passage omitted]

Our common responsibility is the governability of the country. Our common duty is that we should not limit the government's, the power's, ability to decide and act. Based on this, we make our joint proposal which, in its content, is a political compromise and, in its form, an amendment proposal. [passage omitted]

The essence of our proposal is as follows: In the interest of reducing the uncertainty of the transition period, parliament should elect a president of the Republic, if it considers that justified, but the election should be only for a two-year term. With this solution, at the same time there would be a separation between the mandates of the head of state and parliament, which better accords with the principle of power sharing.

During the two years a referendum on this issue together with some essential issues of the new constitution, for example, could take place. As to whether we could ask the citizens about this, for instance on the occasion of the September local authority elections, there are different views even among the constitutional lawyers. For this reason it would be expedient to ask the Constitutional Court for a ruling. It would be good, therefore, if we were led not by constraint but by sober considerations.

And if the electors decide in the referendum that they wish to elect the president directly, they would already know that there will be a possibility for this in two years' time.

The aim of our proposal, therefore, is that this issue and the campaign struggles of an eventual direct presidential election should not burden the one or two years ahead of us, because they will be full of tasks which are decisive from the country's point of view and with burdens which are in any case hard to bear.

So, in the event of our compromise proposal being adopted, we would have a president, and not only a provisional one. At the same time citizens would be getting a guarantee that they could express their opinions and that the majority will would indeed be asserted. And we would have a breathing space so that we could pursue our struggle not for power positions, but for the true objective of a really democratic power: the people's advance.

So, there is a time for everything, and everything has its hour. Let parliament now decide and then let the people decide, if they want to do so, and only after this, depending on the people's decision, would follow the personal ambitions of whoever that may be. This is what I recommend to the attention of us all. Thank you.

Kiraly Presidential Election Petition

LD1806125590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Report by correspondent Kata Nagy on National Assembly session]

[Excerpt] The National Assembly has adjourned. However, the office of the National Assembly Speaker is the scene of an important event. In the presence of representatives of the press, Deputy Zoltan Kiraly handed Gyorgy Szabad 19 parcels bound in ribbon bearing the national colors, containing some 200,000 signatures. So it is certain that there are far more than the 100,000 signatures necessary for calling a referndum to decide whether parliament or the people should elect the president of Republic. [passage omitted]

Independent MP's Join Compromise Proposal

LD1806202990 Budapest MTI in English 1819 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 18 (MTI)—The conflicts in the debate over amending the Constitution, and regarding the election of the president of the Republic seemed to have been eased by the compromise proposal of independent MP Miklos Nemeth.

Mr Nemeth proposed, in connection with the signature collecting action calling for a referendum of MP Zoltan Kiraly, and the Hungarian Socialist Party, that parliament should now elect the president of the Republic, to reduce the uncertainty of the transition, but that the mandate of the president should run for two years only.

The group of independent MPs joined the compromise proposal, and Istvan Fodor, speaking on behalf of the group, announced the independent MPs were withdrawing their amendment proposals on the means of electing the president.

The debate on this and other issues will continue tomorrow.

'Sackings' Begin in Defense, Interior Ministries

LD1906092890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] GAZETA WYBORCZA reports on job losses. The MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] will replace a significant number of employees in embassies and consulates. Thirty-eight ambassadors have been recalled. At least one-third of the consular employees will be recalled this year. Those made redundant will gradually be replaced by the MSZ from persons selected among competitive candidates. New consulates will be set up in Hamburg, the U.S. west coast, and Kazakhstan.

Similar changes will occur in the two most closed ministries, the MON [Ministry of National Defense] and the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. The Army will make about 6,000 officers redundant before the end of the year and the MSW will make redundant 189 high-ranking officials and 7,000 employees of the Security Service. The sackings are starting.

Defense Ministry Economic Body Meets

AU1506113890 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 8-10 Jun 90 pp 4, 5

["e"-signed report: "The Market Will Enforce Rational Management"]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense's Council for Economic and Defense Affairs, chaired by General of Division Jan Wojtala, deputy chief of the General Staff, met on 7 June. It examined the following problems:

—The budgetary savings achieved by the Ministry as a result of the Armed Forces restructuring in 1989, and further savings foreseen in 1990;
—The method of gauging efficient management over material resources, using the Silesian Military District as a yardstick;
—Adapting the system of rational management in the Army to economic market conditions;
—Implementing training courses on the subject of systemic transformations in the national economy and Army.

The Council heard a report, prepared by a special General Staff group, on the financial savings achieved as a result of the Armed Forces' restructuring. It is estimated that these savings amount to 1 trillion Zlotys. This sum of money has offset the increased cost of weapons and military equipment.

The meeting drew attention to the costs of restructuring, which are difficult to estimate, as are the effects of restructuring. There is therefore a need to draw up a balance sheet of losses and gains. One of the effects of the austerity measures is that the attention of military cadres is shifted away from training toward economic and social affairs. Also, there is often a shortage of money for repairs, such as fixing leaking roofs and central heating, yet at the same time redundant military facilities are kept intact, such as firing ranges or training grounds that used to belong to units that have now been disbanded. There is also a need for the Army to renegotiate leases on some of the property that the Army rents, and even cancel some of them.

A few members of the Council, including General W. Pietrzak and Colonel W. Saczonek, said that the economic activity of commanders ought to be restricted to a certain level, so that they may devote themselves more fully to combat training and military discipline, which will be particularly important once the 18-month period of military service has been introduced.

The meeting approved of the method, discussed by General L. Komornicki, of calculating the quantity of material resources consumed during the use of technical equipment. In order to implement it, computers are essential, for then it will be possible to adjust standing costs, reduce the level of stocks, and decrease the consumption of material resources.

Another problem that was discussed can be summarized thus: Abandoning the present system of rational management involves the need to dispense with all the current rules about planning, reporting, and accountability. Rational management in a market economy should be considered a basic component of military planning and activity.

Finally, the question of training courses on the subject of the economic changes. Until now, lectures have been delivered by representatives of central state offices and the staff of economic educational establishments, but henceforth they will be delivered by staff of the Institute of Defense Economics, which is currently being set up within the National Defense Academy.

The topics touched upon during the meeting will also be covered by articles due to appear in our paper in the next few days.

New Defense Deputy Minister on Reform

AU1506162190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Bronislaw Komorowski, deputy minister of national defense, by Zdislaw Zaryczny; place and date not given: "The Besieged Fortress"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Zaryczny] To what extent do you identify with the interests and views of military personnel?

[Komorowski] In my case, it is not possible to identify with them completely. My experiences are different. People who have served in the military for up to 20 years have a different outlook from someone such as myself, who is only just beginning to define his attitude toward the military.

I would like to explain at this point that I come from those opposition circles that stress that they stand for independence, but are far from inclined toward pacifism and from thinking that the institution of the Polish Armed Forces should be destroyed. On the contrary, thinking about ways of winning the support of the military is something that is very important to me.

On coming here as vice minister of national defense, I assumed that I would act for the good of the Armed Forces. So, without ceasing to be a civilian, I have become a spokesman for the interests of our Armed Forces.

[Zaryczny] A lot depends on what one understands by interests.

[Komorowski] I understand these interests to be the need to institute profound internal changes, to change the image of the Polish Armed Forces, and, at the same time, to work toward changing society's attitude toward the military, including that of those social forces that are currently in power. To a significant degree, the changes in the military depend on the social climate surrounding the military. I think that being a civilian and someone connected with the governing forces, I stand a certain chance of being able to improve the atmosphere, of being able to eliminate a very dangerous phenomenon, that is, the feeling of operating in a kind of besieged fortress that still exists among a significant part of the personnel.

[Zaryczny] Unfortunately, I cannot say that I have noticed the changes that you are talking about. However, I do recall that in January and February of this year, there was a lively debate going on about the military and within the military. In March, following the meeting of the National Defense Committee, there was suddenly complete silence on the subject. Many people who had treated the debate that had been going on seriously, felt that they had been let down. Did you not get the impression that a valuable fund of public energy had been wasted?

[Komorowski] Only to some extent. First, the energy that was displayed by a section of military personnel has not vanished. For example, many officers ran in the local elections, and they were often the same people who had written open letters to the Sejm and had tried to create a concept for the reform of the Polish Armed Forces.

Second, the silence about the military is linked to waiting to see what will happen next. From my viewpoint, the silence is positive, because it "lifts" direct pressure from the military.

I realize that the hopes that have been pinned on us—I am thinking of the civilian vice ministers: Janusz Onyszkiewicz and myself—the expectations concerning the speeding up of certain processes are great. However, I would ask people to understand that we have to begin by getting to know the Army in order to develop opinions and to propose certain solutions.

[Zaryczny] What exactly would be affected by these solutions?

[Komorowski] For example, an alternative has to be suggested to the concept of a trade union in the Armed Forces, since that concept was rejected by the National Defense Committee. Actually, I believe that it was right to reject the concept, because it could have turned out to be dangerous for the Army in the current situation. However, we have to propose something else. This is because there is a vacuum now, one that was previously filled by the Polish United Workers Party, which, apart from its purely political functions in the Armed Forces, also acted as a kind of trade union. For example, there are suggestions that officers should hold meetings like those for noncommissioned officers. However, this idea was rejected during initial talks with personnel. It would be best if officers themselves were to give the issue some thought and put forward a suggestion of their own.

I am also inclined to favor the idea of holding a public discussion on establishing counselors or spokesman for soldiers' rights in military units. It is a new institution, one that is not well known in Poland, but it has proven its worth and has a good record in many Western armies. Of course, a certain period of time for analysis and the gaining of experience is necessary.

[Zaryczny] However, what is most frequently expected of you are changes concerning education in the Armed Forces. What have you accomplished in this regard?

[Komorowski] I assumed my duties when reorganization of the military's education division was already well under way. What was meant to emerge was a structure without definite tasks or methods of operation. In my opinion, one has to start from the other direction—we have to begin by defining tasks and then develop a structure that is appropriate to them. So, in a sense I have to reverse all of this. I have begun by formulating the goals of educational work in the military and the methods that we will use in carrying out this work.

This is linked to, for example, the question of providing a patriotic education through disseminating tradition. The need for changes and a departure from the current one-sided view of history is greatest among the officers. There is a lot that can be done in this area by combining the efforts of units with the interest of veteran communities. However, I would like to assure people that there will not be administrative decisions about what patron, what traditions a unit is to have. [passage omitted]

[Zaryczny] Today the supreme commander of the Armed Forces is President Jaruzelski, who is being attacked more or less openly by certain "Solidarity" circles, which would like to see Lech Walesa occupying the Belweder Palace. Of course, this would also mean that he would become supreme commander of the Armed Forces. Do you think that the military will remain passive in this political contest or will it assume a stance?

[Komorowski] It is difficult to say, but I think that possible changes—leaving aside the question of who the candidates are—should occur with the participation of this community. It surely is not interested in becoming directly involved in settling issues of this kind, especially at a time that witnesses the military undergoing an important depoliticization process. I do not get the impression that the military would want to be involved.

[Zaryczny] So, what is the mood in the Armed Forces really like today?

[Komorowski] I sense a kind of mixture of fears and hopes, although it would be difficult for me to judge which of these feelings is the strongest. The main sources of the fears that are felt stem from the structural change in the military, the prospect of unemployment for several tens of thousands of officers, and a falling standard of living, declining wages, and worsening working conditions for personnel. Political threats are a lesser source. Personnel no longer fear that political changes could result in revolutionary changes in the military itself, although certain political differences undoubtedly still exist.

The most important thing is that the mood in the military does not differ significantly from what is happening in society, which is full of feelings of anxiety, frustration, but is nevertheless displaying great determination and optimism, despite there being so many risks. Although attempts were made to isolate and seal off the Army, it has always been a part of society, and today it is that more than ever before.

Ministry Official on Importance of Arms Trade

LD1806151790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, things that were once taboo can be talked about today without any inhibitions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Now one can talk openly about the fact that we have been trading in arms for many years and that we are doing a perfectly good business from it. Many people are employed in this economic sector and the possible liquidation of these industrial enterprises would quite simply be tragic for Poland right now. Hundreds and thousands of people would be thrown out onto the street. Director Krzysztof (Jakubiszin) from the Ministry of Overseas Economic Cooperation: Director, we trade, make money, and we are paid by everyone?

[(Jakubiszin)] Nearly everyone pays us. There are cases where some, fortunately not many, of our partners are behind in their payments for the delivery of arms. One should mention Syria here. We are in the process of negotiating now on ways to obtain the money owed to us. We are prepared to accept the money in the form of goods—of course, goods that would be useful to the Polish economy. Also, at a certain time, there were difficulties in obtaining money owed to us from Iraq, but at the beginning of this year that was brought to a happy end by minister Swiecicki's talks in Baghdad. In the first days of May, as a result of negotiations, we came to an agreement, and we are receiving a considerable portion of the money owed to us as crude oil.

[Reporter] Iran, however, does not owe any money?

[(Jakubiszin)] Yes, Iran is solvent. It is a country with a very good financial standing. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] As we can virtually talk about anything, please tell me what we are selling. I am thinking about arms.

[(Jakubiszin)] Yes. Ammunition, fire arms, armored vehicles, tanks, naval craft, aircraft, radio tracking stations, radar components. Very, very various things, some of which have an enormous content of very modern technology. [end recording]

Soviet Commander Confirms Naval Base Existence

AU1806183790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13-14 Jun 90 p 2

["Fed"-signed report: "The Base Exists"]

[Text] "Four missile boats and the same of number of antisubmarine-warfare craft equipped with torpedo launchers make up the Soviet small naval combatant brigade in Swinoujscie," said Captain 1st Rank Vladimir Kudryavtzev, commander of the base, on 12 June. This information was made public for the first time on 12 June: In theory the base has not existed until now.

Foreign Ministry Changes Viewed

AU1606082290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9-10 Jun 90 p 2

[Stanislaw Turnau report: "A Revolution without Bitterness"]

[Text] On 30 May, Minister Skubiszewski dismissed all the department directors at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All the deputy directors are to be replaced before the end of June. These are the first signs of the thorough program of reorganization prepared by Deputy Minister Jerzy Makarczyk.

The changes in the ministry will particularly affect those departments that specialize in European affairs and stem from the new priorities of Polish foreign policy as explained by Minister Skubiszewski in the Sejm, stated Professor Makarczyk.

One European department will take the place of the previous two departments—namely, the former East and West European departments. This unified department will have six sections; two responsible solely for Germany and the Soviet Union; one for Central and East

Europe, including Austria; one for the Baltic-Nordic region; one for West Europe; and one for the Mediterranean basin. A separate section will be responsible for relations with the Vatican.

A newly created department of European institutions will be responsible for disarmament, arms reductions, and alliance matters, as well as for liaison with the CSCE and the Council of Europe.

Among other changes, the program stresses the liquidation of one department. "Defense matters" will now be the prerogative of a special section, and within the legal and treaty relations department, a section dealing with human rights and minorities will be created.

According to Professor Makarczyk, the organizational changes will enable a seven-percent reduction in manpower. It is significant that the department of cadre recruitment (it is now called "personnel" department) will be staffed by new people. At the moment the search is on for a new director for the department.

The reorganization—although Professor Makarczyk does not want to call it that—will allow essential personnel changes. The 1982 law on state employees still applies and makes it impossible to dismiss any personnel who are employed in the central ministries. The only legal loophole in the law is in fact through reorganization, and it is thanks to this loophole that one can "suggest" earlier retirement or dismissal, if "transfer to another department is impossible."

Deputy Minister Makarczyk emphasizes, however, that the ministry will still rely on its present employees who have shown and will show "loyalty," professionalism, and hard work. The remainder will be released in a way so as "not to feel any resentment or with any feeling of being wronged."

Minister Skubiszewski has decided on the dismissal of nine directors and has appointed five new ones. Six directors will continue to be "acting directors." The new directors will submit their nominations of candidates for the post of deputy directors, and those in turn will nominate their own heads of sections.

The recruitment of new staff is, however, proceeding very slowly. Out of the 400 applicants who sat the Ministry of Foreign Affairs examination, only 16 have been offered a position. Three of these successful candidates later changed their mind, because as trainees they would only be on an annual salary of some 300,000 zlotys. Some 1,000 applicants have applied to sit the next set of examinations.

Minister Skubiszewski has decided to nominate Jerzy Makarczyk to reorganize the three key departments of European, European Institutions, and International Economic Institutions. We have not been able to find out anything more about the minister's intentions regarding the three remaining deputy directors (all former Polish United Workers Party members).

Solidarity National Commission Meeting 6 Jun

AU1506142390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Jun 90 p 2

[Stanislaw Turnau report: "The National Commission on the Divisions in 'Solidarity'"]

[Text] During Wednesday's meeting of the Solidarity leaders, Andrzej Slowik firmly backed "Solidarity's" chairman, and he spoke of "a state of political flux" and "screams of all those people who want to make their political careers under the 'Solidarity' banner."

Lech Kaczynski confirmed the fact that although he was not one of the signatories of the Centrist Coalition, "he agreed with the ideological aims of the group." He went on to say: "There are those who state that they do not represent any particular option, but in reality they want to create a uniform bloc based on the citizens committees. This means a political monopoly; specifically, a system that does not give any mechanisms of control to the governed."

Walesa also stated that he liked the "Center" and continued: "I am pleased that here and there one appreciates my efforts. I am in the center, but a little to the right." He also announced that he would leave the Citizens Committee when it became fully pluralistic.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk disagreed with Walesa, saying: "You are like a bull, charging headlong. You may not lose out, but 'Solidarity' might have to pay the price. You talk a lot about democracy, but you do not apply it in practice."

Walesa replied: "I do not want to harm Poland, and if you succeed in proving it to me, I shall step down."

Michal Boni stated that he agreed with the thesis that the political outfield had to be cleared, but he feared that if this was done now, it would cause a split in "Solidarity." It was too early, and the chairman and the trade union must withdraw. He argued that pluralism did not depend on the total number of parties, saying: "We already have over 100 parties, and most of them are insignificant."

The second element of the debate centered on the use of the "Solidarity" logo and its use by GAZETA WYBORCZA. Walesa asked whether he personally would have the right to use the logo on his own greenhouse, or whether Miodowicz would have the right to use the logo, because in the past Miodowicz had been in "Solidarity."

Stanislaw Baran from Przemysl stated: "GAZETA carries all sorts of attacks on Mr. Walesa, including concerning the fact that he wants to become president." He submitted a formal proposal that a vote should be taken whether the right to use the "Solidarity" logo should be taken away from GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Michal Boni tried to argue the fact that the Centrist Coalition made use of the trade union paper

TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. If the national commission wanted to begin a cleaning out process, it had to do it here too.

The discussion on the logo, dominated by the people who considered that the right to use the logo should be restricted, was interrupted by spokesperson Barbara Malak, who said: "The union fought for a free press for many years. Today we should be proud of the fact that thanks to us it is truly free. If we now start to ask whether it writes acceptably, or unacceptably about us, such attitude must be condemned."

Lech Walesa replied: "I am shocked. It is Adam's private company. You are twisting the issue."

Despite the formal proposal for a vote submitted by Stanislaw Baran and the fact that it was repeated by the delegate from Piotrkow, the matter was not voted on. The issue of whether the logo should be restricted—withdrawing the right to use it by the citizens committees—will return on the agenda of the meeting of the "Solidarity" National Commission planned for 27 June 1990.

Walesa Attends National Solidarity Meeting

AU1306130290 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jun 90 p 1

[PAP report: "I Am Closer to Michnik Than to the Old Nomenklatura"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union National Commission met in Gdansk on 6 June. The correspondence between Lech Walesa, Henryk Wujec, and Adam Michnik, which was made public over the last few days, initially dominated the discussion on the situation in the country. The discussion developed into a broader debate on the role and place of L. Walesa and the union in Poland's political life.

L. Walesa explained: "My letters to Wujec and Michnik were confidential. However, they were disclosed even before I managed to get home. I do not know how that happened. I have been talking to Wujec for three months about how the Citizens Committee cannot be an ancillary agency for the government or the Citizens Parliamentary Club, but has to be a forum for various forces. Henry Wujec is too involved in the Citizens Parliamentary Club, and the club is a parliamentary group that has entirely different tasks. I cannot agree with having issues jumbled up in this way. The Citizens Committee was set up at my invitation, and it is beginning to function in a way that means that I have no rights concerning it, that I have no say in it. A secretary cannot do whatever he wants and fail to subordinate himself to the chairman. I am to be accountable for it, but have no authority. Wujec works like a beaver, he is very industrious, but he does not suit the situation. I want to make the committee independent, but not as an ancillary agency of the Citizens Parliamentary Club. What is needed is a forum where various views can clash. There will be elections in a year's time, and we have to start campaigning and talking about the future now, because I will no longer agree to nominate candidates."

L. Walesa said: "I did not recall Adam Michnik. I only suggested that he think things over. I wanted to sort out GAZETA WYBORCZA. He was appointed following the 'roundtable' to do a good job on the elections and to organize propaganda, and he did that. I later found out that it is a private company. Now, that is another matter. Why should 'Solidarity' be involved in a company? Why should there be a private paper with the 'Solidarity' logo? I want to have this cleared up."

After several speakers called for the removal of the "Solidarity" logo from GAZETA WYBORCZA, because of its attacks on the union and its chairman and following a strongly-worded rejoinder from Barbara Malak, who explained that such a move would amount to unilateral censorship, Lech Walesa rejected the suggestion that his actions toward A. Michnik were "punitive," stating: "He can write what he wants to. Let him criticize. I am not concerned about what Michnik might say, but about there being a private company without my agreement."

L. Walesa went on to stress: "In the struggle for pluralism, I will always be closer to Wujec and to Michnik than to the old nomenklatura. We should not be papering over differences and building a new National Unity Front. Everything should be out in the open. We are on the same side, but in different places. That must be crystal clear."

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk said: "Either 'Solidarity' breaks with Citizens Committees, or they will use us for the pursuit of their own contests. We should see to it that our movement's political capital is not frittered away, because our members will pay the price for that." L. Walesa announced that "Solidarity" and he personally would leave the Citizens Committee.

On the subject of the "Center Coalition" and his running for the presidency, "Solidarity" Chairman L. Walesa said, among other things: "I do not exclude such a possibility; I am not trying to sidestep the issue. I like the 'Center,' because I am a man who is for consensus and is of the center. It is the group that is closest to me, but I do not make any recommendations to it or give it orders."

The National Commission acquainted itself with issues that a "Solidarity" delegation discussed during negotiations between central union bodies and the government on railroad workers' affairs. Speaking on the subject, L. Walesa pointed out that during his two visits to strikers in Slupsk that led to the termination of the strike, he did not make any promises to the railroad workers. Summing up the controversies that were sparked in the country by the railroad workers' resumption of work, he said: "The strike was called off and there is a moratorium on the issue."

There was discussion about progress in the work of a special team established by the National Commission to prepare union stances on the question of privatizing the economy.

The Commission acquainted itself with the activities of the newly established team for unemployment affairs.

There was also a discussion about the "Solidarity"-80 issue. In connection with registration proceedings, the Warsaw Voivodship Court had asked the "Solidarity" National Commission whether it had any objections to the Sz czecin-based union using the name in light of the copyright situation regarding the name and logo. It was agreed that a plenipotentiary of the union's national governing bodies would object to such a move at a registration hearing.

The National Commission also did not agree to a veterans organization using the name "Solidarity" and argued that there are currently a sufficient number of veterans associations in Poland for everyone to find a suitable place and that veterans who support "Solidarity" can simply join the union.

A new National Commission plenipotentiary for cooperatives was also appointed. Jan Rulewski was chosen to replace Antoni Tokarczuk.

It was agreed that a decision on proposals to remove the "Solidarity" logo from GAZETA WYBORCZA, the Citizens Committee and other organizations would be postponed until a separate discussion involving all those concerned is held.

Solidarity on OPZZ Responsibility for Poverty

LD1606220490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] In Katowice a meeting has been held between a group of OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group] parliamentarians, the Katowice Voivoda, the chairman of Solidarity's Mining Commission and farming Solidarity, as well as the chairman of the Regional Police Trade Union.

After the meeting, Alojzy Pietrzak, the head of the solidarity regional board, handed over a statement saying that social dissatisfaction, the result of 45 years of communist economic management, is being taken advantage of by trade unions affiliated with the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance] and in particular Rajmund Moric, the head of the Federation of Miners Trade Union. The propaganda being carried out by that federation has a populist character, and its aim is to bring about the political destabilization of Poland. It is an element of a political game, emphasized the statement, staged by a group of people—descended from the former communist authorities—who are trying to regain their privileges. However, if an accounting of the leadership of that organization were to be carried out, it would be found to be responsible in equal measure with the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] leadership for the poverty it has driven us into. That is also why, Alojzy Pietrzak states, those people do not have the moral right to play the role of defender of working people, whose [word indistinct] they are cynically using.

OPZZ, Government Hold Talks on Finance

LD1806203590 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—Meeting a delegation of the OPZZ All- Poland Trade Union Alliance headed by Waclaw Martyniuk, Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz briefed them on the implementation of his economic program in the second half of the year. The meeting was presided over by Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron.

Balcerowicz said that after verifying the state budget's incomes and expenditures, his government would be able to earmark certain funds, amounting to 10-15 trillion zloties to support such fields as housing construction and the dairy industry.

The finance minister also intends to introduce certain economic changes in mining and changes relating to official price hikes for fuel and power. He stressed that July would be the last month this year to see hefty official price hikes. Balcerowicz also noted that there were no grounds to anticipate a change in the exchange rate of the dollar to the zloty.

Asked by the OPZZ trade unionists whether the buying power of wages would fall by more than 20 percent, Balcerowicz acknowledged that the drop would be even bigger and that there was no real chance of avoiding this.

Wrapping up the meeting, the trade unionists stated that they thought the government's intentions in the second half of the year boiled down to new "price moves" which lower taxes on wage increases would not compensate for.

Walesa Viewed as Obstacle to Democracy

AU1806202390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Jun 90 p 3

[Zbyslaw Rykowski article: "What Do We Do With Walesa?"]

[Text] The ruling camp is in a state of decomposition. That is a fact. It is a natural phenomenon, and a favorable one for democracy.

There are no longer just two set-ups, a post-communist one and a Solidarity one. There are now many.

One thing is important. The pluralism, so strongly shaken by the chairman [Walesa], must not be restricted to the ruling camp that he will govern. We must not have a situation where he has his own coalition, his own leftist-cosmopolitan strain, his own national democrats.

Apart from the civic movement, there are other parties with their own supporters. It is time for the Krakow pro-democracy alliance to realize that. Now that the corset of unity in the ruling camp has been ripped open, it is time for this alliance to choose its allies on the basis of values, ways of thinking, and character, instead of prejudices.

Most Poles believe Mazowiecki has chosen the right course, though he does not possess any party.

The Krakow meeting was an attempt to create support for the government. Let this activity be consistent. Let this alliance not be a kind of front of national unity, peopled with ambitious egoists, but an alliance for democracy, an alliance of responsible people who care for today's Poland in the heart of Europe. The Scial Democracy of the Polish Republic has declared its support for this kind of alliance many times, emphasising, however, that it will retain its left-wing values.

To our readers: Why are we worrying about disputes in an opposing camp? Because this is not a subject of indifference; because we do not think that the worse it is, the better for us. Because we are responsible for Poland.

The former opposition committed the sin of arrogance when it believed that it makes no difference whether Rakowski or Siwak is in power, because they are all the same.

It turned out that they are not the same. Not all the signatories of the Centrist Coalition and the Krakow pro-democracy alliance are the same.

Let us give democracy a chance. Let it settle down.

Only one question remains: What do we do with Walesa?

Mazowiecki-Walesa Popularity Ratings Reported

AU1806171590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jun 90 p 3

["pac"-signed report: "If It Should Ever Come to War at the Top...."]

[Text] From the results of the 23 May 1990 poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Main Center [CBOS], it appears that "in the event of a conflict between the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa," three times as many people would "take Mazowiecki's side" (37 percent), than Walesa's (11 percent). Some 33 percent of those polled commented that they would not take sides, and 20 percent had no views on the subject.

Mazowiecki's support was greater in all age and professional groups, but there were differences which had already emerged in previous polls:

—Among the lowest educated groups, Mazowiecki's advantage is twofold (26 percent to 13 percent), and among the highest educated it is eightfold (64 percent to 8 percent);
—Among the poorest groups only a few more percent would be for Mazowiecki than Walesa (20 percent to 13 percent). Support for Mazowiecki climbs to 55 percent with the rise in the level of affluence, and falls to 7 percent for Walesa;
—Some 67 percent of the intelligentsia (humanities and technology) would be for Mazowiecki, and only 7 percent for Walesa. Mazowiecki's lowest margins of advantage are among farmers (22 percent to 15 percent), unskilled workers (28 percent to 16 percent), and skilled workers (33 percent to 16 percent). Mazowiecki has more of an advantage among private owners (40 percent to 14 percent), and old age and invalidity pensioners (40 percent to 10 percent).

In the same poll, 62 percent of those polled expressed their approval for the government, and 20 percent their disapproval. This gives a 42 percent rating in "net approval." Specific ratings come out decidedly worse. Apart from foreign policy (59 percent "net approval"), defense policy (31 percent), and economic policy (12 percent), all other spheres received negative ratings—that is, more people expressed disapproval than approval. Housing construction received a catastrophic result (-76 percent), agriculture received a poor result (-54 percent), environmental protection (-47 percent), and fiscal policy (-43 percent). The government's social security (-29 percent), culture (-24 percent), and education (-6 percent) policies received somewhat better ratings, but come out pretty badly.

The CBOS poll asked for appraisals of the best and worse performing ministers. The star of the government lineup is Minister Skubiszewski (27 percent gave him a positive assessment, and there were no negatives), Kuron got 25 percent positive and 11 percent negative), Balcerowicz got 14 percent positive and 11 percent negative). Paszynski (25 percent negative, no positives), Janiecki (21 percent negative, two percent positive), Kisz czak (five percent negative, and one percent good), were the worst performers. The remaining ministers received minimal mention, roughly the same numbers of positive and negative.

Geremek Addresses Parliamentary Club

AU1506094190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

["T.R. and M.U."-signed report: "Poland Does Not Like Disagreement"]

[Text] A meeting of the Citizens Parliamentary Club was held at the Sejm in the afternoon [6 June]. Club Chairman Bronislaw Geremek spoke at the meeting and assessed the social and political situation in the country following the local elections. These are extensive excerpts of the speech.

"'Solidarity' is of great value for our country. It is so today and will be so tomorrow. All those who enter into political or personal games do so because they believe that there is nothing else that possesses such enormous value.

"We have behind us a year that has seen the institutional transformation of our country. We have accomplished an extraordinary amount, more than anyone foresaw, thanks to our club.

"At the same time, it has to be said that during this year, especially over the last six months, we have not succeeded in clearly informing public opinion that it was we who destroyed communist rule in our country and the communist party itself, because we deemed this to be in keeping with the Polish raison d'etat. There is no point in charging that the government could have acted differently, that it could have proceeded more quickly, that it could have made certain decisions in the way that we suggested. It was we who failed to accord these decisions the character that they should have.

"I would also like us to realize that support for a government that is our government does not preclude being critical of its individual representatives or certain decisions. On the contrary, it is our job to think critically. This is because when we talk critically about the government's actions, then we are also being critical about ourselves. We provide the foundation for the existence of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government.

"The local government elections produced two important results. The first concerns participation in the elections. Without getting the majority of Polish society to identify with a program of profound changes that entail risks, there is no chance of having these changes realized. The elections showed us that this sense of identification is limited. Although 42 percent is very high according to Western requirements, it is too little for Poland's needs. We have to think about why this was so. No political force, neither the government nor the Citizens Parliamentary Club, can say that it is responsible for this situation.

"The second result—a result that is of extraordinary importance for the future of the Polish political scene—is the unequivocal victory won by the citizens committees, which are not organized as a party. It was on the basis of this nonparty formula that we entered Parliament. We entered Parliament as people who are motivated by ethical values rather than the desire to vie for power or advantage. Polish public opinion does not like disagreement. It does not like disagreement between Walesa and Mazowiecki nor between individual citizens committees.

"If we look at the election results we can see that the turnout was lower where there were conflicts. This is because what arises is a feeling that the forces that people placed their trust in are beginning to quarrel among themselves. This is an important result. I maintain that even if the citizens movement and the Citizens Parliamentary Club enjoy the confidence of the public, the fact that 41 percent of the electorate voted for them means that there is no danger of a political monopoly.

"In 1989, when we came out against that communist system, we felt that we were doing so on behalf of the nation. The political game is now becoming clearer and normal. We can count on—it is the only thing we can count on—having a fairly comfortable level of support for the policy of reforms and the government. This does not mean a majority, but it means a situation in which there is almost a majority. This is important because it means that during the transition to democracy and a pluralist system, we are in a position to create solutions that will not endanger political pluralism. They will not be threat to the country's future.

"It also means that our parliamentary club does mean something in public life.

"If we take a look at what we have achieved through our activities in Parliament, then we see that we have managed to accomplish something that has benefited Poland whenever we have proceeded purposefully and achieved uniformity on an issue. This is to the credit of the Citizens Parliamentary Club.

"When I read about efforts to split the Citizens Parliamentary Club from the citizens movement, I ask the question: By what right? Who has the right to do that? After all, the club only exists by virtue of a decision by its voters. We were brought into parliament by the 'Solidarity' movement and the citizens committees. We are indebted to those who brought us into Parliament, and we have to know how to repay this debt. There is no political force in any parliament in the world that does not have a bond linking it to society or goes even further than that and seeks to be a political mirror of society. The bond between the citizens committees and the Citizens Parliamentary Club is a natural bond. Being a 'Solidarity' man—and that is what I consider myself to be—I always add that the bond between the Citizens Parliamentary Club and 'Solidarity' is also an intimate bond. I also hope that these intimate bonds will prevail despite political contests and rivalries."

Commentary on Claims of Secret 'Roundtable' Accord

AU1606085590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9-10 Jun 90 p 1

[Zbyslaw Rykowski commentary]

[Text] There are people who maintain that history is a sequence of conspiracies, and that it is conspiracies that bring about the reality, not the desires of the people, ideas, or social movements.

The conspiracy theory of history has always been used as a weapon in the political struggle. According to the theory, everything is simple and clear cut. There are no

complicated historical processes, no social divisions, conflicts, or any communality of interests. There are only small circles which watch over their own narrow, Mafia-like interests and deceive the masses.

The more reality begins to falter, the more difficult it becomes for people to understand it and accommodate themselves within it, the easier it becomes to create a psychosis of conspiracy.

Thus, some 100 years after the Dreyfus affair, we have Magdalenka; not quite on the same scale, but the methods are similar.

In order to destroy the "cosmopolitan left deviation" in the ruling camp, all one needs to do is to show that its people are guilty of betrayal. The betrayal is supposed to have happened in Magdalenka, where they supposedly entered into collusion with the enemy, that is to say, the former Polish United Workers Party reformers.

The proof is there that no text of the discussions held at Magdalenka was ever published; thus, it is self evident that something has been hidden.

Let us recall what we mean by Magdalenka. Magdalenka is the place where the preparatory talks which lay down the rules and subjects for discussions at the forthcoming "roundtable" were held. Later, during the "roundtable" discussions themselves, this was the place where conflicting points were settled by the leaderships of both sides. It was a place where compromise solutions were sought. It is easy to check what was discussed in Magdalenka by rereading the text of the individual debates by the various subteams.

Sometimes a compromise solution was reached; sometimes it was not. This, too, can be verified in the published text containing the points which the two sides agreed still needed settling. The sudden attack on Magdalenka is in essence an attack on the method of compromise, and the "roundtable."

For some people the victory is no longer sufficient. This is an example of ahistorical thinking, which does not take into account the realities and conditions that prevailed some 18 months ago in Poland. It is also an example of the contempt for the changes which have occurred in Poland since then.

In order to settle the conscience of all those people who participated in the meetings held in Magdalenka, and in order to overcome the harmful effects on modern, rational political culture that this conspiracy syndrome is having, it is important to tell the whole truth about Magdalenka. If no official notes of those meetings exist, then there must be notes made by individuals. There are also the negotiators who took part, and they can clarify the situation.

Silence breeds suspicion, which is fanned by the manipulations of second-rate politicians—politicians who are not satisfied, who want more power and authority.

Further on 'Roundtable' Secret Protocols

AU1806112590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9-10 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Are There Any Secret Protocols From Magdalenka?"]

[Excerpts] The negotiations held in Magdalenka, shrouded in a veil of secrecy, continue to arouse emotions to this day. This subject has recently surfaced again, because of the sharp conflict within "Solidarity."

Its radical wing maintains that during the secret talks, secret bargains were struck between the reform wing of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the so-called secular left wing of "Solidarity." As a result, this led to the behind-the-scene maneuvering to prepare the "Solidarity" and PZPR reform wing coalition. This is what Jerzy Robert Nowak, one of the signatories of the Centrist Coalition, has claimed. TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has written many times about this secret alliance since Jaroslaw Kaczynski came to be appointed its editor in chief.

During the last meeting of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, its chairman stated that he would welcome the publication of any official transcripts of the talks held in Magdalenka. The following people made the following statements on this matter:

—Wlodzimierz Lozinski, presidential press spokesman: The president has stated that no official notes were ever taken in Magdalenka. There may well exist individual notes that belong to various participants of these talks, but such notes are their private property and cannot be considered as an official document.

Such a document, considering that it was never made, cannot exist. No secret decisions or agreements were made in Magdalenka.

—Czeslaw Kisz czak, minister of internal affairs: No official protocols of the talks held in Magdalenka were ever prepared. Three secretaries of the "roundtable" were present: Jacek Ambroziak, Kazimierz Kloda, and Krzysztof Dubinski. Most of the participants made notes for their private use, some more and some less detailed. The talks were usually difficult and "man to man" but they were always accompanied by a desire to reach an agreement. Nothing clandestine happened—although some people maintain otherwise—and society can easily find out for itself.

—Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Council of Ministers office: If this official transcript exists, I say it should be published. However, I was at Magdalenka and I know that no secret protocol was ever done. I have my own working notes, very condensed and meant for the internal use by our church authorities. If these were published, many people might feel aggrieved, because their full statements were not noted down. If everyone concerned gave their consent to such publication, that

would be another matter. I do not think that it would be possible, given the amount of time that has already elapsed. [passage omitted]

—Zbigniew Augustynowicz, deputy director of the government's press office: If an official transcript does exist, then in accordance with the policy on openness which this government encourages, they ought to be published. This would be worth doing.

However, the government does not believe in the existence of any secret agreements made in Magdalenka.

Walesa on Political Role of Citizens Committees

AU1606081790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9-10 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Lech Walesa on the Citizens Committees—We Need Pluralism"]

[Text] The press office of the "Solidarity" chairman has sent us the text of the statement issued by Lech Walesa on the citizens committees:

The citizens committees were created out of the "Solidarity" spirit, Christian brotherhood, and respect for human dignity. From this fact arises the morally imperative to act jointly for the common good, to assume responsibility for the fate of the state, and to base one's actions on all those things that unite us, while showing tolerance for all that divides us.

The citizens committees were born out of the struggle with communist totalitarianism. They continued this struggle in the name of independence, democracy, and pluralism. We have destroyed the totalitarian system, and we are approaching full independence, but democratic pluralism still remains to be attained.

In the next few months at the latest we shall have free elections to Parliament. These will be the first free elections in 50 years. They will take place at a time of great changes that will shape the fate of Poland and Europe for generations. It is the duty of all Poles to prepare honestly for these elections.

The citizens committees will once again shoulder particular responsibility. This responsibility comes from the experiences the committees gained during the last few years and from the use of the word "citizen," which implies conscious participation in the life of the state.

During the past few months a split has appeared between the citizens committees and other centers of political activity. This split is harmful. The citizens movement is nobody's personal property and no one has a monopoly on Polish patriotism. The citizens committee movement ought to be a movement that is ready to cooperate with everyone who wishes to build a democratic Poland, where the rule of law prevails.

The autonomous and independent citizens committees must strive to become schools of democracy and centers where complimentary or alternative programs for our country's future are shaped.

Participation in the work of the citizens committees does not give any privileges or special rights. It puts the emphasis on duty, a duty to create the kind of Poland where all law-abiding citizens will enjoy equal opportunities to influence the fate of the Polish republic.

Mazowiecki Attends Citizens Committee Meeting

LD1706111490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] In the chamber of columns in the Sejm, a meeting of citizens committees [KO] representatives from the whole of Poland is taking place. The results of the local government elections are being assessed as well as the future of the KO's. Up until not so long ago, it seemed that that movement would survive in its entirety until the parliamentary elections, and that it would certainly win those elections. The events of the past two weeks have changed the previous political alignment. Thus, the meeting's participants are going to have answer the question: What next?

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is taking part in the meeting. Before the beginning of the meeting, the premier, when asked about the role of the KO's, replied that he sees in them the fundamental forces for the construction of democracy in Poland. Lech Walesa was also invited to the meeting.

Stresses State Reforms

LD1706120990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Excerpt] [Words indistinct] managed with material from a short report, but a report from the citizens committee [KO] meeting being held at the moment in the chamber of columns of the Polish Parliament. But (?I did manage) to record the premier and a statement, a message from Lech Walesa. We shall begin with a short speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Assuring Poland a place in the new European order, fitting also for the historical legacy of Poland and the Polish role in Europe. [sentence as heard] It is necessary to go forward in Poland with unswerving consistency in all these directions, but democratic order, stabilization, and moving forward consistently are also necessary—not the overthrow of everything at any chance or at any issue.

The work of reforming the state has to be carried out the to end. The self-government bases have recently been laid down and should be completed in all these three spheres, at which time it will be possible to say that the work of reforming the state in its basic outlines has already been created, thus leading to the formulation and adoption of the constitution and from parliamentary elections. Bringing the work of political reforms to an end requires that the government, which I lead, has

strong and broad political bases. I would very much like for the KO movement to form the basis of that alliance for democracy, of that alliance, which could carry out that work and assure its continuation, a continuation enshrined in the constitution and victory in the parliamentary elections.

I would also not want to avoid matters, which are sometimes apparently (?somewhere) in the background of the discussions taking place, which are important, the issues of the political climate today, at the moment. [sentence as heard] I have not done anything and will not do anything to cause a personnel conflict to dominate over other problems. It is my opinion that the selection of personnel ought to be subordinated to democracy, not vice versa. [applause] [end rcording]

Views Transition to Democracy

LD1806102290 Warsaw PAP in English 1629 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 17—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, addressing a meeting with representatives of the citizen's committee, held at the Sejm building today, said in part: Through its evident results the elections to the local self-government proved the role of the citizen's committees. These elections cannot be followed by either dissolution of the committees, or a vacuum. The committees should themselves define their role. I see them as a basic force in the building of democracy in Poland, but not the only one, because we have said many times that a pluralistic democracy is to be built.

We want to be open people, open movements and political, social groupings, open to a partnership with others, not to build a new monolithic or quasi-monolithic system.

I think that the movement of the citizen's committees, not foreclosing the future political structure in Poland, but shaping this structure, can and should be the basic force of a great Polish alliance for building democracy of which I spoke in Wroclaw.

As the premier, I would like to see in you this basic force for the government which, despite difficulties, has been implementing the line that it to lead Poland onto a road of an open and modern democracy.

The government's programme is a programme of transition to the building of a full democracy in Poland, to a market economy, to ensuring to Poland a place in a new European order which is being created. These three tasks, which the government is facing and which it is still implementing, are the basic tasks so that Poland be led through this difficult period. For this we need time and iron consistence.

Necessary changes will be introduced in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The changes in the field of verification in the prosecutor's offices are and will be continued like it is being done as concerns efforts to renew and improve the government apparatus in voivodships.

A great self-government reform has been achieved in the sense of elections. It has to be achieved also in the sense of the entirety of local management.

As goes for economic matters, we have now undoubtedly entered a stage in which the overcoming of our economic difficulties depends on the transformations in economic structure, economic and ownership systems and, in consequence, the system of management.

Undoubtedly, farming has to be given special attention, within the framework of the possibilities created by our economic programme.

Poland's place in the new European order is the third great domain. We are before and in the course of important events. Here I have in mind Poland's participation in the 2+4 conference which will be an important moment of shaping a new European order. [transmission interrupted, PAP take three not received]

In order to carry political reforms into effect in full the government I am leading must have a strong and broad political base. I want it very much so that the movement of citizen's committees provides such a foundation for an alliance for democracy which can carry out this work and ensure its continuation crowned with a constitution and a victory in parliamentary elections.

You know well that I have not done anything and am not doing anything to have in Poland a personal conflict which would dominate other problems. It is personal choices that should be subordinated to democracy and not vice versa.

I believe the fundamental issue all the democratic forces in Poland should understand is the establishing of a code of democratic rules, a canon of democratic rules of the game in the new Poland, a canon in which it is a debate on programmes that decides and not the spreading of mutual venom, hatred and prejudice, especially between people and groups which so far have fought against the totalitarian system, and not labelling or pushing aside each other, either. One cannot accept a situation which makes partners to a democratic participation in the public life of new Poland not partners but enemies.

We want to create such Poland in which there will exist political discussion, struggle of programmes and partnership of political opponents but not of enemies who are destroying each other.

Walesa's Message to Citizens Committees

LD1706142390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Immediately after the premier's speech, Zdzislaw Najder, who directs the committee attached to the chairman of independent self-governing trade union

[NSZZ] Solidarity, presented Lech Walesa's message to representatives of the citizens' committees [KO]. Please listen:

[Begin Najder recording] He asked me to tell you that he regards his participation in the ending of the farmers' protest as an expression of help and support for the government. He asked me to read out this short message to the guests gathered today.

Mr. Premier, speakers, dear ladies and gentlemen taking part in this meeting: We meet today at an important moment, after the local government elections, at the threshold of preparations for parliamentary elections, which will certainly take place in several months. It is a moment for thinking about the past and future of the KO's. I am going to speak mainly about the future.

The committees were born as a result of the spirit of Solidarity. They have scored great achievements. With their help we have changed the Polish political landscape. The fundamental role of the committees is contained in [word indistinct]. To be a citizen is to consciously partake in the life of the state, the life of the nation. A year ago the majority of Poles felt themselves to be citizens. Today, unfortunately, we see that increasingly fewer people want to accept joint responsibility for the fate of society. This is worrisome, dangerous. We shall not build a better Poland on indifference and passivity, on a feeling of being lost, on disarray. A new impetus is necessary, but the impetus needs sorting out as our political life is obscure.

We have been trying for a certain time to sort out these matters in the KO attached to the NSZZ Solidarity chairman. It is neither easy nor pleasant, as organizational sorting out is viewed as a personal move [words indistinct]. We have fought for many years (?and we want) to remain in friendship. But order, the distribution of incompatible functions, those are imperative things. I hope that in a week's time we shall finish our initial organizations in the national KO, then, and for you as well, everything will be clearer.

Sorting things out is hampered by the absence of a set of rules. You should also consider the introduction of certain legal clarities, explicit rules in your functioning. Committees, each one individually, ought to establish the principles of accepting members, the appointment of its leadership, representation, and statute. Those are important and difficult matters; it is worthwhile considering them carefully. The premier correctly says that we want to live in a law-abiding state; our political and social activity also ought to be legally organized. Proposals should come from you. No one has any right to decide anything for you. The strength of the committees, in my opinion, is dependent on autonomy, on freedom, on grass-roots initiative.

Today's meeting is a meeting with the premier, the head of our government, a government which we jointly fought for. I must say clearly and explicitly, that I consider that no team preparing that meeting ought to impose formulae and solutions. It is not the place to carry out the division in the KO office. It is not the place to carry out the divisions of the citizens' movement. The decision on the future of the committee should be made in the committees themselves, not at this meeting. This is not only because it is necessary to calmly make decisions, but above all because the committees at home have the right to decide their forms, their affiliation, their future.

I said that no one has the right to impose anything on you, but I feel myself to be closely connected to you. After all, your entire movement emerged from Solidarity and the KO, which was created alongside me. That is why I feel that I have the right to tell you how I imagine the future role of the KO's. Today we are passing from one system to another. The old system, which we fought, has been overthrown. A new political system is only now being created. It must be created faster and more energetically, and so created that as many Poles as possible feel themselves to be participants, feel a sense of responsibility, and feel that they are jointly making decisions. At the moment things are not good in this respect, but are getting worse and worse. The recent report of the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group] team of experts mentions this. We knew how to fight the old system. In the new system means—established in accordance with the law—must be found to express not only approval but also dissatisfaction. People must know how they can support the government, but they must also know how they can protest, without breaking windows, without strikes, without destruction. [end recording]

More on Citizens' Committee Meeting

LD1806030190 Warsaw PAP in English 1923 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 17—"The government is asking you to be its political base. I believe this is possible and that this means co-shaping the road Poland needs," Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told a meeting of representatives of Citizens' Committees from all Poland at the Sejm building here today.

A discussion on prospects of Citizens' Committees has not ended today. That is why representatives of Citizens' Committees decided to convene another meeting, to take place on July 1, and to invite Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa.

Lech Walesa criticized the formula of the meeting. In his statement, read to the meeting by Zdzislaw Najder who is leading the Citizens' Committee at the Solidarnosc chairman, Walesa said "clearly and distinctly" that none of the teams preparing the meeting should impose any formulas and solutions.

The further existence of Citizens' Committees is necessary as a political base for the government, parliament and local government. Such a view dominated the discussion on the future of Citizens' Committees.

Divergencies of opinion emerged when it came to the issue whether the committees should represent the entire society or become a party or a federation.

Andrzej Stelmachowski said the "slogan served today" on dividing the Solidarnosc movement cannot be accepted in a difficult and not stabilized situation in Poland.

Jerzy Turowicz presented the origin and sense of the so-called Krakow Initiative. The meeting was caused by anxiety concerning the road of our state towards democracy. Polish public opinion negatively assessed the developments of the recent time and considered them a conflict between Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa, whereas public opinion abroad is surprised with what is going on in Poland.

Aleksander Malachowski said he was sorry Lech Walesa was not present. I am afraid the Solidarnosc chairman did not want to come because he began to doubt that only united we could emerge from the difficulties. Lech, come back, Malachowski appealed.

Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki answered some questions. Said he:

In the near future planned are some corrections of Poland's territorial division, especially in most controversial cases.

Under way are changes at posts of voivods. While making new appointments we are taking into consideration all opinions.

We deem privatization the main mechanism of the economic reform at the present stage.

Walesa, Center Accord 11 Jun Meeting

AU1806194790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Center Accord"]

[Text] Lech Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, received representatives of the Center Accord on 11 June. During the meeting views were exchanged on the current political, social, and economic situation.

Lech Walesa once again spoke in support of the need to develop political pluralism and welcomed the emergence and development of the political initiative represented by the Center Accord.

Center Accord participants said that they pinned their hopes for an acceleration of the process of change on Lech Walesa. This statement met with appreciation on the part of the chairman. Representatives of the Accord pointed to the growing disquiet over the lack of objectivity in the way in which certain mass media depict the actions of Lech Walesa as well as the tendentious portrayal of the political scene stemming from monopolistic ambitions regarding public life in our country.

The participants in the meeting said that there was a need for radical institutional changes in light of the economic and political dangers that Poland faces.

The meeting was attended by: Andrzej Arendarski, Citizens Parliamentary Club deputy and Liberal Democratic Congress; Andrzej Anusz, "Mazowsze" Democratic Forum; Tadeusz Bien, Democracy-90 Democratic Party; Marek Cholewka, Christian Democrats, Krakow; Ireneusz Choroszucha, Citizens Committee, Bialystok; Ignacy Czezyk, Citizens Parliamentary Club deputy; Slawomir Daborwski, journalist, Center Accord; Tadeusz Dziuba, Democracy-90 Democratic Party; Milosz Galecki, Union of Young Christian Democrats; Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, secretary of the Center Accord; Jerzy Jackl, Democratic Center; Andrzej Kern, Citizens Parliamentary Club deputy, Movement of Free Democrats; Stefan Kurowski, Center Accord; Andrzej Kostarczyk, "Solidarity" Polish Peasant Party; Teresa Lisz cz, Sejm deputy; Bohdan Osinski, Democracy-90; Waldemar Pitorowski, senator, Labor Party; Ryszard Turyk, "Dziekania"; Marek Rutkowski, Citizens Parliamentary Club deputy.

Miodowicz Urges TU Political Representation

LD1806175590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Accord, has conducted the first post-congress meetings with trade unionists from Warsaw enterprises. Trade unions have always needed political representation, Miodowicz said. Now it is virtually indispensible in view of the approaching and fully free parliamentary elections. A center-left must be formed, within which Social Democracy must not have the deciding voice.

Krakow Communique Calls for Citizens Alliance

AU1806161490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Text of communique issued after the 10 June 1990 Krakow meeting of people invited by Jerzy Turowicz"]

[Text] The ambitious system reforms undertaken by the noncommunist government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki need stronger support. We are conscious of the differences that are taking place within the "Solidarity" movement. Political argument is a natural thing and the fact that it exists testifies to a victory of democracy. Political arguments only arouse our anxiety when the ambitions of politicians take precedence over the good of the country. There is a need for centers and political tendencies to define their programs and ideological profiles. The existing public institutions are showing themselves to be too narrow to lead discussions and joint activities.

We wish to create an alliance for democracy, a citizens coalition which will support the reform program of the current government—a coalition that will not fudge the differences between the individual political currents. Such an alliance should take a federative structure and guarantee the individuality of the groups that form part of it.

(The text of this communique is being forwarded to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the chairman of "Solidarity," Lech Walesa.)

Call for Citizens Alliance Viewed

AU1806161590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jun 90 p 2

[Piotr Pacewicz commentary]

[Text] The Krakow group of intellectuals and persons active in the citizens committees considered the political challenge coming from the Center Accord and some statements that have been made by Lech Walesa. The key question was whether it would be possible to form a political grouping and an outline of a program. In an extreme version such action could have signified an open breach with "Solidarity," or even a formation of an anti-Walesa bloc. The final accepted communique is somewhere halfway between a consolidation of an option within the "Solidarity" movement and an option of consolidation, stated Senator [Richard] Reiff.

The development of the political situation will depend on what happens with the citizens committees. The Krakow declaration points in the direction of changes to citizens committees and a formation of an open political movement based on these committees which, on the one hand, would support the program of the government, and on the other mobilize it to seize the political offensive.

Will the proposed citizens alliance prove to be effective in such a role? Will it balance the activity of the demagogues from under the political acceleration banner? Will it be a political force at the elections, despite its lack of a single political program? Will Lech Walesa see the citizens alliance as a political rival, or will he rise above the already occurring split?

Mlawa Farmers' Communique on Protest Action

LD1806103890 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Mlawa, June 17—Lech Walesa met here yesterday morning with farmers protesting at the local dairy cooperative (the Ciechanow voivodship). The farmers who protested against low milk procurmeent prices blocked for a few days roads and stopped work of the milk processing plant.

Lech Walesa promised to meet farmers upon his departure to Geneva for an ILO [International Labor Organization] session.

During yesterday's meeting farmers spoke about the difficult situation in farming, low milk procurement prices, poor possibilities of selling all agricultural produce, deteriorating living conditions in rural communities and about the situation in the local dairy cooperative which was facing bankruptcy.

After a 2-hour discussion, the meeting adopted a communique which read in part as follows:

Having in mind the overriding good which is free homeland we suspend the protest, the blockade of roads and of the local dairy plant as well as other plants in order to start on July 3 a protest action under the auspices of Solidarnosc. During this protest we will negotiate profitable conditions of milk production in the Ciechanow voivodship and in all Poland. It was agreed Lech Walesa would take part in the protest.

The meeting expressed hope the protest would not be necessary at that time as problems of milk production and profitability in farming would be settled to the satisfaction of all farmers with respect to Poland's abilities.

Farmers Said Ready To Talk With Government

AU1806204090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Jun 90 p 2

["kana"-signed report: "Farmers and the Government—Somebody Had To Give Way"]

[Text] "Our aim is not to escalate tension. In a conflict where there could be no winners, somebody had to give way," said Piotr Dabrowski, press spokesman of Farmers "Solidarity," at Monday's news conference, commenting on the 8 June decision of the trade union authorities, which calls on farmers to pay their Social Security Agency contributions.

Continuing the policy of nonpayment would have had severe consequences, which are hard to conceive, all the more so as the government had shown during the recent rail strike that it would not negotiate under pressure, stated the spokesman. At the unofficial meeting on 7 June held between trade union officials and Deputy Ministers Janicki and Balcerowicz, it was agreed to start talks with the government immediately after the suspension of the protest action, Piotr Dabrowski said.

The Pomorze macro-region (it includes six north-east voivodships) has announced a road-blocking campaign around Sz czecin from 21 June, if the government does not begin talks before that date.

The union foresees serious difficulties with the procurement of grain during the upcoming harvest. According to Antoni Furtak, deputy chairman of the union, some half

of the state's grain elevators are already full with homegrown and imported grain. In such a situation the only way out, according to union representatives, is to find additional financing for intervention procurement of grain.

Government's Economic Strategy Viewed

AU1506065590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Waldemar Kuczynski commentary: "Without Inflation or Recession"]

[Text] The most important economic challenge is to ensure that prices do not rise and at the same time increase the standard of living. In other words, to ensure there is no recession. These are the features of a healthy economy and this is the aim of the government's economic policy.

Currently, prices are rising less sharply, but they are still rising, and recession is continuing. We are still far from our goal. At the same time, economic aspects that were most trying for society to bear disappeared within the space of a few months. Last year, the worst of these were empty shelves, long lines, and very high price increases. Given such a situation, the government's call to beat inflation received society's full support.

Today, this support is waning, and this year it is empty wallets that are most noticeable. Everybody's most pressing problem is to get more money. Such longing is understandable, but at the same time it breeds a favorable climate for economic demagogy, economic "miracle workers," and creates social tension. We find ourselves in a difficult situation, both from the point of view of our economy's future and the future of our young democracy.

The desire to improve one's standard of living, which has dropped seriously, has created a situation that favors those who call for this to be done quickly. These calls can already be heard and if we listen carefully, the essence of their argument is to increase the amount of money in circulation. This is understandable, for the only action that gives quick results is manipulation of the monetary system, especially where this manipulation has the aim of increasing or reducing the amount of money in circulation.

The government did precisely this at the beginning of the year. It decreased the amount of money and the effects were not long in coming. Hyperinflation and lines in stores vanished, but recession and unemployment appeared. Despite this, the new situation is a good departure point for restoring our economy because money, which is the lifeblood of the economy, has stopped being devalued as fast as it was devalued last year. The zloty has firmed up and it is even gaining in value against the U.S. dollar. There is increasing demand for the zloty, and this will strengthen the motivation to undertake activities that generate money. In this way, with a currency that has real worth, and through the desire to gain more of it, labor and ingenuity are generated. This fact will strengthen the forces of economic progress.

If, however, the government listens to the people who advocate rapid victories over recession, or succumbs to pay demand pressures by taking steps to rapidly and substantially increase the money supply, recession will vanish. Production will increase, but it will be the old, worthless type of production, unsuited for our needs. Demands for a policy of increased supply with rapid results would, in fact, be a vote for totally useless production. Hyperinflation would make its reappearance, the zloty would be turned into worthless paper, and there would be a flight into foreign currencies. Such a situation would be even more difficult for society to bear, and additionally, it would deprive us of any chance we may have to renew our economy. It would force us into a round of successive severe savings.

Thus, we are faced by two alternatives. Either we maintain the policy of a firm zloty, a policy that will lead us to a healthy economy (despite the present recession), or we opt for a policy of easy money, which will lead us to disaster, even allowing for the increased production. This dilemma ought to be remembered when one hears calls for the removal of restraints on the money supply or for higher wage increases. The demon of hyperinflation has not been totally defeated and it must be contained in a strong straitjacket. It will be disastrous if we begin to delude ourselves that we have beaten inflation, only to find we have unleashed a wave of pay demands that threaten to tear this straitjacket apart.

Further economic moves that are currently being elaborated take these factors into account. The government intends to continue with its policy of strong, firm, and healthy money, that is to say, to pursue a policy that will give us an economic chance. This is the government's second raison d'etre and it accompanies its other desire to calmly lead the country towards a fully functioning democracy. The success of this policy depends on society's continued belief that this is indeed the road that will give us this chance, but this belief may weaken or cease altogether. Here, much will depend on all the players on the economic scene, and a great deal will depend on the government itself.

Following the road of economic opportunity we have traversed the first, but regrettably short stage. We brought down hyperinflation quickly and rather spectacularly. In doing so we have earned the world's admiration, and this finds its expression in the help that is being given to us and in a growing interest of Western financial and economic circles in what is happening in Poland. This spectacular taming of inflation by removing its symptoms has also aroused hopes that the symptoms of recession can be defeated equally spectacularly. These are understandable hopes, but this will be impossible to achieve quickly; because of this fact such hopes are dangerous.

Let us look at the next stage which will be equally as difficult, but will last significantly longer. Today, when the main enemy, hyperinflation, has been securely tied in a straitjacket (and must remain there), scores of various other problems have appeared on the economic scene. These problems now form all sorts of obstacles that must be overcome by the participants on the economic scene who wish to adapt themselves positively to the prevailing conditions, conditions that in essence will be much longer lasting. Adapt themselves positively means to adapt in such a way which produces an increase in useful production, and thus, raises the standard of living.

In order for this process to gain momentum, the workers and the management must acquire the necessary skills and habits which will enable them to survive in free market conditions. The government is assisting this process and will continue to support it through learning programs and the provision of advisory services, as well as by using Western means and specialists. The government and the state administration service must also learn how to function in this market economy. State intervention (which cannot be totally ruled out) cannot follow past lines, or rely on past instruments. All this will have to be learned under very difficult conditions because it is being done during a period of great change that is occurring in all spheres.

Much legislation from the time when the economy was centrally directed and which now hinders economic initiative will have to be amended or repealed. A mass of such legislation has already been repealed by the present government, and more is in the stages of being repealed. New legislation is being generated. This process has been taking place over the last few months and shows no signs of abating. The proof is in the number of Council of Ministers and parliamentary sittings.

Old structures and monopolies must be done away with. Many have already disappeared, and on occasions this led to disorder, especially in the cooperative, notably farming, sector. All that needs to be swept away will be, but we have to take care so as not to cause chaos, or additional economic difficulties.

The same sensible attitude must be applied to the reform of the great organizations such as the railway, telecommunications, and the coal mining industries. They will be reformed, but undue haste may bring more immediate damage than benefits. The same applies to privatization, a process which promises to be the greatest change in ownership organization. The government will implement this program as soon as it is approved by parliament, without reaching for unjustified economic solutions.

Finally, we come to the matter of production technology. Some elements will have to be discarded completely by closing down factories that have always been inefficient. Many methods of production will have to be changed for more competitive ones. This will reduce costs and give modern products. The process will take a long time because in Poland we have a shortage of savings, namely a shortage of capital. This change might be accelerated by the influx of foreign capital, but this will not happen quickly. Large sums of money are invested on a long-term basis, thus with great care. Foreign investors are looking at Poland with interest, but also with uncertainty. One can dispel these suspicions by showing that Poland is politically stable and the economy is not rushing into hyperinflation and chaos.

Appropriate skills, legislation, institutions, and production techniques: These are the most important directions that will lead to victory over recession without a return of inflation. As improvements in these spheres begin to take place, the Polish economy will increase productivity. It means that given the same number of machines and the volume of raw material, energy, and labor, there will be an increased output of products and services of a better quality which are aimed at supplying a need. Thus, the cost of goods manufacture, or the provision of services, will decrease. This will lead to the economically justifiable situation whereby prices will fall, allowing more to be bought with the same amount of money, or profits and wages will be increased, which, given stable prices, will again result in greater purchasing power.

This is the way that the mechanism that raises the standard of living functions in a healthy economy, one where there is a healthy currency. The increase in the standard of living depends on economic productivity and not on increases of money in circulation. Thus, when we hear the question—Why are our prices at West European and our wages at East European levels?—the answer is as follows. The prices are tending to West European levels because our economy is being opened up to exports and imports, which is essential for its modernization. Our wages have remained at East European levels because our economic productivity is still at an East European level. The gulf between prices and wages will not be closed overnight because the growth in productivity does not jump higher from one week, or from one month, to the next. It will depend on the tempo of the aforementioned process to adapt positively, and it will occur faster, the quicker the government succeeds in removing the mentioned obstacles and the faster the people who are active in the economic sphere are able to move into the space freed for economic activity. This will apply to enterprises, just as it will apply to individuals. Without entering into too much detail, that is how the next stage of our economic road will look. The faster we move along this road, the faster we shall see its fruits materialize for us, not only for our future generations.

This cannot be a road on which the government is passive, hoping that everything will be taken care of by free market forces which will compel people to go about their business in a more dynamic way, nor on the other hand can it be a road where the question "what does the government intend to do now?" is intended to take priority over our own endeavors. In many areas of the economy there are spheres where the government must have an active policy. If it does not do so it must be

criticized and hurried along. Nevertheless, there is a whole range of matters where the government should not intervene because in any country where political and economic freedoms rule there are matters that belong solely to the citizens. The way they go about these matters shows how that society is making use of its freedoms.

Communist Union Protest Letter to Sejm, Senate

LD1806174790 Warsaw PAP in English 1642 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—In a letter addressed to the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate and conveyed to PAP, members of the founding group of the Proletariat Union of Communists protest against biassed assessments of the entire communist movement in Poland full of bigotry and hatred, made in the Sejm and the Senate.

Signatories to the letter protest against "identifying criminal practices of Stalinism, by which many of us were harmed, with communist ideals in which honest working people have believed."

Members of the founding Union of Communists oppose wrecking attainments of 45 years of people's Poland. They think that "an attempt to burden people with leftist and communist views with mistakes of previous and present ruling teams is only a screen for not squaring accounts with decision makers responsible for the ruin of the economy.

"Welfare gains won by working people in the post-war period are regularly eliminated under the pretext of struggle against communism" the authors of the letter say.

Polish Senate's Stelmachowski Interviewed

PM1306143190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal of the Polish Senate, by own correspondent A. Starukhin; place and date not given; from the "East Europe: Who Is in Power?" feature: "The Polish Option"]

[Text] Warsaw—First, one brief question: Who is in power in Poland?

Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal of the Republic of Poland upper chamber (Senate), replies.

[Stelmachowski] Everyone knows who formally exercises power: the parliament, president, and government. Poles also know very well that only a year ago the administrative and executive functions were in the hands of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and its Central Committee. Even the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party which were in coalition with it were offended by the encroachment on their rights by the "fellow" dominating this triple union. Who regulated this rule from the side, including the people's side, and how, I do not personally know. But the creation of a new government cabinet was preceded by "roundtable" sessions and an agreement was concluded on all fundamental elements between "Solidarity" and the representatives of other public and political directions. That is a substantial step had already been taken toward pluralism. And that as it were weakened the factor of party influence on power. Moreover, after the 4 June 1989 elections there was literally a shock caused by the unambiguous victory for "Solidarity" and the defeat of the PZPR and its weakening, which progressed for all to see, leading to the collapse of an organization of 2 million members.

But here is what is notable. At the same time no other party of any significance has appeared on the Polish political arena. I emphasize the word party. Polls and studies have shown that over the course of many years the public has developed a very deep sense of distrust in parties in general and in bureaucratic institutions. Party movements in the country were uncoordinated. There are 60 "official" parties alone demanding premises and other conditions ensuring their activity. Alas, to be frank they do not play any marked role in the republic's political life. In our country they are collectively known as "divans," meaning that each of the small parties could be fitted onto one divan. In my view the Peasant Party and the Christian Democratic Party are acquiring some significance.

The influential "Solidarity" is not a party. In the early eighties it was a strong trade union. "Solidarity" has now split into two groups. One acts as before in the sphere of the trade union movement and feels very strong. The other, in the form of the "Solidarity" citizens' committees which have been created everywhere and are actively operating, is closer to political problems. L. Walesa heads both "wings." He serves as the two movements' linking thread, as it were. As of today the independent trade union is very heterogeneous. And I would even risk making the following forecast: We stand on the threshold of a new political life. [Stelmachowski ends]

Our information:

The Sejm and the Senate in the Polish parliament are the two chambers, as in our Supreme Soviet. Their roots lie deep in history. For a long time the Senate did not exist and was re-formed as a result of the June elections last year. It is invested with constitutional monitoring functions. It discusses draft laws examined beforehand in the Sejm and makes amendments which the Sejm then has to approve it a second time. But the Sejm can "insist on having its way" without considering the opinion of the upper chamber only by a vote, having obtained at least two-thirds of the votes for its option for a controversial decision.

[Starukhin] Does all this not mean that tomorrow "Solidarity" will be politicized even more intensively and in the struggle for power, for further assertion on the crest of power, will lose its trade union functions?

[Stelmachowski] I see this "tomorrow" somewhat differently. We in Poland may have a great many parties in the 21st century, but in terms of their political importance they will at the same time as it were cease to exist. Elastic public movements of some kind will prevail. This can already be seen in the example of Czechoslovakia. After all, there various democratic groups are acquiring far greater popularity than the government. T. Mazowiecki's government has on the one hand received powerful support from society and on the other it has strengthened under conditions where there is virtually no competition.

As for parliament, the situation here looks more complicated. It plays an undoubtedly important role but probably not a decisive one. In particular the way the lower chamber—the Sejm—looks now—as stipulated at the "roundtable"—is that 65 percent of deputies come from the coalition and 35 from representatives of what used to be called the opposition. Inasmuch as the opposition is virtually nonexistent, the Sejm is mainly represented by "Solidarity." The Senate was formed and resumed work after a gap of 55 years. Of the 100 deputies in it 99 are "Solidarity" members. And only one is... free, independent, or what you will. Nonetheless we always have differences. Some of them are suppressed by the "center"—the government. With the rather important voice of L. Walesa who, together with his fellow fighters, has considerable weight, although formally he seems to have nothing to do with politics or power.

The opinion and decisions of the country's president, W. Jaruzelski, who, incidentally, has the army in his hands, are always authoritative. The president's person and the Polish Army which is associated with it constantly play a kind of stabilizing role. A rather surprising system of power has taken shape but, I stress, it serves as quite a good factor of stabilization in the life of society.

[Starukhin] But Pan Marshal, it is obvious that this is not yet the definitive "outline" of power. As you have already noted, there are many parties and even more informal organizations in Poland and after all they exert some influence on the overall climate.

[Stelmachowski] They are disunited and small. We also have numerous extremist groupings. Their role is strictly negative, they merely prevent the pursuit of a policy for emerging from the crisis and effecting social recovery. But their influence is insignificant. I shall note in passing that they are also harming the consolidation of Polish-Soviet relations. I would call irresponsible strident groups such as this "extreme." Their phony prestige was graphically borne out by the recent elections to local self-government—the candidates they nominated did not receive any votes! Even the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the best known among them, did not win a single seat. Their cohesion into a coalition prior to the elections did not help either. At the same time people's passive participation in these elections is a signal to use to be worried. That means democracy has not yet taken root in the country. [Stelmachowski ends]

Our information:

Andrzej Stelmachowski is a 65-year-old law professor. He is a well known personality in Poland. For many years he taught at Warsaw University and the academy of Catholic theology and was chairman of the capital's Catholic intelligentsia club. He was one of the initiators of the "roundtable." He headed the group for agricultural problems during the talks and at the same time taking part in the work of the groups for questions of the economy and social policy and in a trade union group—of individual peasant farmers.

[Starukhin] As we have touched on the subject of the elections.... How to explain the fact that voices are being heard increasingly frequently and demands are being made to hold elections for the country's president almost immediately?

[Stelmachowski] Officially this question is not yet being raised. But frankly among broad public circles there are serious complaints against General W. Jaruzelski. This is connected primarily with his introduction of martial law in 1981. Many people can neither understand nor forgive this. Although I am personally convinced that the present president is fulfilling his functions irreproachably. He is doing much that is useful for the country. But sometimes you obviously also have to take account of people's feelings. Next year we intend to change the constitution. The year 1991 is the year of the 200th anniversary of the Polish constitution, the oldest in Europe. I think the new code of laws will provide for the election of the president by the whole public and not by parliament. New principles for the exercise of power will also be asserted to some extent.

[Starukhin] But the new Polish authorities are obviously succeeding in far from everything, to judge merely by the recent railroad workers' strike.

[Stelmachowski] I believe the protests are closely connected with the solution of economic questions in Poland. As is well known, our state is critical. And although financial problems have been successfully resolved in part, this has entailed a colossal slump in production. The need is arising to immediately set the economy on a new path, the path of the market. Unless this is successfully done within a short time there may arise the threat of new upheavals with unpredictable consequences. It is through the prism of these events that we should view the schedule for new elections to parliament. Today there are representatives of the former PZPR among the parliamentarians but the party has not existed for quite a while now. We are told that the Senate is very homogenous. In brief, events have overtaken us and I believe that early elections to the supreme organ of power are inevitable. [Stelmachowski ends]

Our information:

A badge with the word "Solidarity" is attached to the lapel of my interlocutor's jacket. The Senate marshal is also a figure in the independent trade union's leading

circles. For a long time he was a member of the board of the citizens' committee under L. Walesa. He was a participant in the 1980 events or to be more precise was an adviser on the strike committee of strikers at the Gdansk shipyard. If we are speaking of his youth, of his past, he was a soldier in World War II.

[Starukhin] Do you, Pan Marshal, and the Senate as a whole believe that the government program guarantees the only correct path for the development and establishment of the Polish economy or do you feel some blank spots in the reforms?

[Stelmachowski] Moving toward a free market is the correct direction. But even among us, the representatives of "Solidarity," there are different views and assessments. I belong to the group which believes that amendments must be made to two questions. The first is agriculture. It is excessively uncoordinated, in contrast to industry, and for this reason cannot be its partner. In my view it is expedient to elaborate a separate program for boosting the rural economy. In all highly developed countries the countryside has been a subject of special concern for the government at various periods. And second we must ensure social justice to the greatest degree. I am sure that only temporary reforms can be carried out at the expense of depriving the broad working masses. We are talking of privatizing a proportion of the means of production. And perhaps we should think at the same time about emancipating the workers. As we all know, the peasants have been emancipated. But in my view the industrial worker has never received complete freedom. But that is one of the topics of our "internal" dispute today.

[Starukhin] You sometimes hear it said that one monopoly of power has been replaced by another in Poland. As you realize, by this is meant the former PZPR and today's "Solidarity."

[Stelmachowski] I can discern no signs of pressure or restrictions from the government. Everyone has been given the right to create whatever parties they like. And "Solidarity" is on an equal footing with all. The recent elections are an illustration. The independent trade union nominated only one-third of the total number of candidates. As for the structures which have long existed, everyone knows that they have—and that includes in leading posts—representatives of the former nomenklatura. And nonetheless the next few years will give a definitive and precise answer to this question. I believe that a strong opposition is forming, but parliament will exercise the most important control over society.

[Starukhin] In conclusion, I should like you to specify, Pan Marshal, whether new and dangerous barriers of some kind, barriers that are difficult to overcome, may not arise on the path toward the assertion of democracy in Poland?

[Stelmachowski] The main barrier is people's restraint and tolerance. Will they be able, having agreed to temporary privations, to travel this reforming path after tightening their belts? The railroad workers' strike was the first warning signal. I must note that the public of both our countries is indigenously mainly of rural origin. And the rural inhabitant is concerned mainly with just making it through the winter.... The upheavals arise as a rule in the spring and fall, after the harvest, in the period of accumulation of funds and food for the next year. What will August in Poland show?

About democracy. Our government is already democratic. But its support by the passes is to some extent conditional, that is it is directly linked with changes in the direction of a better life. A public poll attests that 80 percent of the population is in favor of T. Mazowiecki's reforms. These people are a colossal bulwark. But they are also openly and keenly criticizing the government. And that is also a sign of democracy. We must take, and take urgently, all necessary steps to improve Polish citizens' living standard. Only then will trust grow still more. And democracy, which is already putting out deep roots, will be further developed. I believe in the green crown of the tree which we have set about growing.

USSR Envoy Kashlev on Soviet Role in E. Europe

AU1806120790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jun 90 pp 1, 7

[Interview with USSR Ambassador to Poland Yuriy Kashlev by Ryszard Malik at the offices of RZECZPOSPOLITA in Warsaw; date not given: "We Are Interested in Your Success"]

[Text] [Malik] Mr. Ambassador, you have to come Poland from the great world of international politics. How do you feel about being in a neighboring country that has many historical ties linking it to Russia as well as many good and bad memories?

[Kashlev] I would like to begin by saying that I am delighted to be here at RZECZPOSPOLITA'S offices. This is my first visit to the offices of a Polish paper. I think that our conversation has been very helpful in promoting mutual understanding about many of our common problems.

However, I must admit that being nominated ambassador to Poland came as a surprise to me. I have recently spent a great deal of time dealing with issues in international politics, especially with work connected with the CSCE process. I headed the Soviet delegation to the Vienna CSCE session during the years 1987-89. I also took part in disarmament talks between Warsaw Pact and NATO states in the Austrian capital. After that, I returned to Moscow and was responsible for coordinating all issues pertaining to the CSCE process at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Today, if I think about why I was chosen by Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to head the diplomatic mission to Poland, I would say that one of the reasons was your country's active and important role in European dialogue.

Poland is an active participant in political and disarmament dialogue in Europe. For many years now, I have had good contacts with Polish representatives during various talks and meetings on these issues. The second important reason is the area in which I am a specialist. I have been dealing with human rights for many years, and I am also a mass media specialist. Poland is a country where culture is marvelously developed, where there is a lot happening in this area, and I think that someone such as myself is needed here now.

I also have to admit that as someone who is interested in culture, the arts, and historical and political ties between our countries, I have come to the conclusion that there is probably no country that compares to Poland in terms of the wealth of literature that we have devoted to it.

There were various periods in our history—periods of friendship and times when we failed to understand each other. However, when it comes to historical context, Poland is the number one country for almost every Russian. So, when I learned about my nomination, I did not have to give my decision any thought. I do not know whether these were the reasons why the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposed me as a candidate for the post of ambassador to Poland. However, there is surely a lot of truth in what I said.

[Malik] You have begun your visit to Poland at an interesting time. Much has changed in our country and much has changed in all of Central Europe. How do you see the role of the Soviet Union against this background?

[Kashlev] It really is a very interesting period in the history of our state and all of Central Europe. There are radical changes taking place in Poland. I think that it has to be said, without any false modesty, that without perestroyka and without Gorbachev, these processes of change would definitely not have come to fruition and if they had, they would have been limited. It is difficult to imagine what would have happened if Chernenko or someone like him was head of our state as these reform processes got under way in East Europe.

That is why I think that what we are witnessing today became possible with the beginning of glasnost and perestroyka, when changes occurred in our foreign policy and it took on a new character, and when the Brezhnev doctrine was broken with—although the doctrine was never officially affirmed, it did, as we know, exist. The freedom for every state to choose its own path and a friendly attitude and understanding on the part of the Soviet Union for the changes that are taking place provided certain foundations for the reforms in East Europe.

I think that the Soviet Union finds what is happening in Poland, the changes that are taking place here, to be the most interesting changes taking place in all the countries of East Europe. Poland is the largest state in this region of Europe. It is a country with a population of almost 40 million and it is a state that began carrying out economic experiments earlier than the rest.

We are very interested in seeing the economic reforms, the Balcerowicz plan, become a success for your country. We are watching what is happening very carefully and drawing conclusions. There are, of course, various points of view on the subject. The pros and cons of the plan are being discussed, but the Polish path—that is what we say in Moscow—and the success of the plan would provide us with a model, an example for the solution of our own problems.

For this and many other reasons, I think that the Soviet Union's role in East Europe is a constructive one. It is based on a sound understanding of partnership as noninterference in other people's affairs. It lies in the interest of all the states in this region of Europe and in the interest of the Soviet Union for there not to be misunderstandings, for people not to interfere in each other's affairs, and for good economic and political relations to be maintained.

[Malik] Mr. Ambassador, there has been lot of talk about threats to perestroyka and to President Gorbachev himself. It is also being said that perestroyka may end in catastrophe if there is no financial assistance from the West and the United States. What could you tell us about the subject today, that is, in the wake of the Bush-Gorbachev summit?

[Kashlev] Yes, there are conservative forces in our country that are blocking perestroyka. There are such forces in Moscow and in the state. There are people linked to these forces who think that perestroyka is just one of these campaigns that will end shortly. That is why there are problems and various difficult issues. However, this is an approach that is confined to a minority. Unfortunately, many of our commercial and industrial difficulties and our shortages of goods have their origins in the approach of those people who do not reveal their true colors.

The majority supports perestroyka. The press is full of letters from people who even want more radical reforms and the speeding up of reform.

As far as assistance from the West is concerned: We are interested in normal trade with every country, and I also mean Western states. Unfortunately, these relations do not look all that good. There has even been a certain drop in trade. This may, of course, be due to certain problems that currently exist in our country, but that still does not explain everything. However, it would be wrong to see us as requesting something, and when Gorbachev was last in the United States he clearly said that he was not asking for anything. In addition, although the USSR-U.S. trade agreement has been signed, it has not been implemented for several reasons. It only signposts the direction in which Soviet-American economic relations should develop. When it really is implemented, it will definitely improve our situation.

However, we should also consider this from another angle. The Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls still has its list of almost a 1,000

products that cannot be sold to the Soviet Union. So, what sort of cooperation is that? It is a product of the cold war. It is nonsense. So, we are interested in cooperation with the West, but there is no sense in saying that perestroyka will not succeed without that assistance.

[Malik] What do you think about the rivalry between M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin?

[Kashlev] Let us begin by saying that not everyone was in favor of Yeltsin being elected chairman of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet. As for the rivalry between President Gorbachev and Yeltsin, we should not forget that a few days before the election, President Gorbachev himself said that Yeltsin had set out a very constructive program and that what he said about cooperation with all democratic forces did him credit. Besides, the statement that Yeltsin made helped him pick up votes. I think that cooperation between them will work out well in the future, although Yeltsin is very impulsive.

[Malik] This is my final question. In the past our relations have been based on friendship imposed from above. Now, when everything is changing, how do you see Polish-Soviet contacts developing?

[Kashlev] Yes, friendship was frequently organized by the authorities. However, this does not mean that it was always a bad way of proceeding. For example, I will be going to the Soviet Song Festival in Zielona Gora shortly. Originally, the idea of organizing the festival came from the authorities in Warsaw and Moscow. Now, however, as ideology is being removed from our relations and new forms of cooperation between our societies are being sought—that is how Premier T. Mazowiecki put it in his Sejm speech—things have to be thought about somewhat differently. However, there are certain valuable things that we have worked out together, and it would be a pity to lose them. I am not thinking of politics or of economics, but of Polish cinema, Polish films, which are highly regarded in our country. You in Poland think highly of Russian music and songs. All these good things for both sides should be preserved. That is the best vehicle for understanding between us, a foundation for good-neighborly relations, and something that complements political and economic relations.

New State Railways Director Appointed

LD1206200590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Aleksander Janiszewski has won the competition and become director general of Polish State Railways. He is an engineer and the coauthor of a Solidarity report on the Polish State Railways. He is fifty-five. He talked to railmen's representatives today.

[Begin Janiszewski recording] The talks at the General Directorate have been in progress since 1100 [0900 GMT] about the implementation of the demands put forward by railway workers. There are two main topics; the first is pay matters. Talks have been going on up to now: It seems that we will reach a compromise agreement, which will be a compromise in the fullest sense of the word, because it will certainly not meet the railway workers' expectations, but it will certainly be in line with the current possibilities of the Polish State Railways and will meet certain of the delegation's demands [word indistinct]. Regarding the second, very important issue: We made the proposal that the General Directorate should draw up a communique, which—after today's gathering expressed their opinion on it—would present the way to implement the Slupsk demands. This communique has been created; it refers to each of the 12 Slupsk demands. It particularly concerns matters of restructuring the railways, and talks of a timetable of work by commissions and teams which will be consulting on changes in the structure of the railways, in the economic system, and in the wages system. [end recording]

Solidarity Radio Begins Broadcasting

LD1806200690 Warsaw PAP in English 1803 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 18—The Solidarity Mazovia radio station started airing its broadcasts today, its scope covers the Warsaw Voivodship and it will broadcast at the ultra short waves for twenty hours a day, Press Spokeswoman of the Solidarity National Commission Barbara Malak says.

The Solidarity radio station operated eight years in the underground. It aired its last broadcast on June 30, 1989 and the organizing committee of the independent (but already legal) Solidarity Radio was set up a day later.

This is a joint stock company of the foundation of the Solidarity Radio, the Radio Trust British firm, the Radio-Committee and British Citizen Ludomir Lasocki who was representative of the Solidarity Radio in the West in its underground period.

Solidarity is a regional radio station and topics will focus primarily on issues of Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship where the reception of broadcast will be possible.

Poor Press Circulation Examined

AU1606065590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Jun 90 pp 8, 9

[Anna Bikont article: "The Press Prior to Its Collapse"]

[Excerpts] The demand for newspapers has fallen dramatically, perhaps between 30 and 50 percent. Often, a new title that appears in the kiosks is quickly compelled to reduce its circulation .

Kiosks are saturated with dailies, weeklies, magazines with crossword puzzles, entertainment magazines, magazines with specialized subjects, and so on. New titles keep appearing in the kiosks. And that is where they stay.

It is relatively easy to set up a new title, especially when the circulation is small, but it is even easier for this title to go bankrupt.

The competition is won not necessarily by the best titles, but by the most efficiently-run ones. It is certain that the national press will become less stiff and formal and more like the gutter press. Major hopes are attached to the local press, which can be published without exaggerated circulations, so it does not have to be subject to such press market rules as pages of advertisements, nude women, and petty sensation. [passage omitted]

Most of the titles that used to belong to the former Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] are being kept suspended in a state of limbo by the Liquidation Commission, which has to guarantee the continued appearance of these titles until the process of transferring RSW assets to new owners is completed on 6 July. Many of these titles are living off credits, without paying their growing debts. It is difficult to determine how any paper manages to survive and what its expenses are. The papers themselves do not know.

If the RSW's debts cannot be paid, a part of its assets will be auctioned off (a Polish trade firm and a jeweler have already applied to purchase one RSW building). The first collective bankruptcy will occur on 6 July. Soon afterwards, some press titles are bound to fall, those whose staffs were determined to keep them going out of their own pockets (let us recall that by the terms of the Press Act, newspaper staffs may turn their papers into cooperatives if the majority agrees and everyone invests three monthly salaries).

The Liquidation Commission is receiving various offers from Polish and Western firms. Andrzej Notkowski, the Commission's spokesman, claims that this is a trade secret which must not be divulged. All he will say is that one of the great Western publishing houses is interested in distribution in Poland. So far, there have not been many concrete offers from the West, except in the case of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, in which Rupert Murdoch, the great English press magnate, and German and Swedish press consortiums have expressed an interest. [passage omitted]

We know that the assets of the former "Trybuna" publishing houses, temporarily in the hands of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], will be sold to the SdRP in whole or in part, following an assessment of their market value. In the meantime, the SdRP is paying for the use of the building, the printing press, and so on. The question of paying the multibillion zloty debts incurred by TRYBUNA LUDU has still not been settled. [passage omitted]

It is very difficult to extract any information on circulation figures. Very often, editorial staff simply refuse to divulge them, and when they do, one suspects that they are exaggerating. Whatever the true situation, as far as circulation is concerned, local papers are not in a position to beat the titles that belonged to the old RSW.

For example, in Gdansk, the new independent GAZETA GDANSKA, which was born 3 months ago with a circulation of 55,000, has fallen to a circulation of 35,000, and actually sells far fewer copies. In Kielce, the new daily GAZETA KIELECKA, which was founded in the middle of May by Sejm Deputy Julian Braun from the Citizens Parliamentary Club, has a circulation of 25,000. The GLOS POMORZA, which used to be a Polish United Workers Party organ but which has changed neither its editorial board nor editor in chief since then, has a circulation of 40,000. [passage omitted]

Perhaps it is a little odd to worry about the honor of the Polish press when no one is particularly eager to preserve it. But if we assume that the most favorable variant for the country's economic development triumphs, one can expect that in the end the Polish press will receive numerous offers. [passage omitted]

Ministers Council Suspends Some Customs Tariffs

LD1806220190 Warsaw PAP in English 2121 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—Holding a meeting today, the Council of Ministers decided to suspend custom tariffs on most raw materials and materials till the end of the year.

The suspension covers over 2,600 items and will cut budget revenues by 2.7 trillion zloties. It will, on the other hand, give impetus to domestic output. In the nearest future the Council of Ministers will review the possibility of lowering duties on a majority of machines and equipment.

The government also amended the mining law, granting mines greater powers in using their assets and setting prices for coal.

Skubiszewski Voices 'Concern' to Romanian Envoy

LD1806200190 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 18—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received today ambassador of Romania Iulian Dobroiu to voice concern over recent developments in Bucharest.

He stressed the importance the Polish Government attached to observance of human rights and international conventions in this field.

Czechoslovak Election Outcome Greeted

AU1806194690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jun 90 p 1

["AM"-signed commentary: "A Victory for Democracy"]

[Text] We have received good news from Czechoslovakia. The candidates of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence forces have scored a decisive election victory. These are groups that continued the work of Charter 77, and they represent the main forces of the "velvet revolution"—namely, groups linked to Vaclav Havel and his political philosophy.

This signals the victory of the forces for democratic order, European standards, pluralism, and tolerance. The Civic Forum is a new political form which defies comparison—as does Havel himself—into left and right. It has people from various ideological backgrounds, who are united by their recognition that old divisions are anachronistic and by their joint hope. In building such a political camp, the Czech and Slovak democrats have shown much courage and imagination. We rejoice in their election victory.

It is also worthwhile to look from this perspective at the various Polish dilemmas and arguments about the future outline of the Polish political scene.

In the Czech and Slovak state, the victors are the people who have much that links them with the people of the Polish democracy. We are linked by the friendship from the time we were both persecuted and pursued. There are people both in Poland and among the Czechs and Slovaks who are eager to discount this community. These are the people who will try to fan the conflicts between our nations. Despite such people there has never been a better opportunity for a rapprochement between our nations. This is our joint interest and the exigency of our times. We await a new impulse towards such cooperation from our Polish foreign policy.

Bishop Laszlo Tokes Criticizes Iliescu Regime

LD1506211690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Laszlo Tokes, bishop of the Oradea reformed church, criticized the Iliescu regime at a news conference in Paris. Miklos Keleti reports:

[Keleti] In the knowledge of the latest events in Bucharest, even the last drop of my trust in Iliescu is drying up, said Laszlo Tokes, in connection with the aggression in Bucharest. He is in Paris on a brief visit.

Earlier, before the elections, it seemed that Iliescu and his men were forced into a transient compromise with antidemocratic forces. I had hoped, Laszlo Tokes continued, that after the elections—out of which Iliescu emerged stronger—these elements would disappear from politics in Bucharest, but the events do not show this.

Now the veil must be lifted within a short time because it is impossible to permanently govern behind a mask, Laszlo Tokes said in comment on the latest developments in Romania.

Cables Iliescu on 'Atrocities'

LD1606202190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes by unidentified reporter on the "Newsreel" program in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] To His Excellency President Ion Iliescu, Bucharest. This was how Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes addressed his telegram to the Romanian head of state yesterday, in which he protested the bloody events in Bucharest. I would like to quote a sentence from the telegram: After a glorious revolutionary beginning, writes Laszlo Tokes, I consider that we have fallen into a phase of social recession, in which antidemocratic forces and manifestations are becoming ever stronger, in which real revolutionaries are intimidated, ignored, and squeezed into the background, and the people's masses are misled. On his way home from Paris, the bishop interrupted his journey in Budapest for a short while and spoke to "Newsreel."

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What was your intention, and what was the content of the telegram?

[Tokes] I feel that the case of the Bucharest atrocities belongs to the category of events, about which one cannot remain silent. The revolutionary antecedents of Timisoara oblige me to speak out. This telegram is a kind of protest. On the other hand, it calls on Mr. President Iliescu to reexamine this action of his, which can be qualified—to put it mildly—as an error, whereby he called the miners into Bucharest to impose order, to get them to beat up the demonstrators. It calls for justice to be done on the bloody events there, that this derailment of the revolution should be reconsidered, and that we should continue anew the road begun in December.

[Reporter] How long can you be the sole living conscience of Romania?

[Tokes] I am convinced that among Romanian intellectuals there still are those who need encouragement, like (Maranda Enache). I know about them, too, and in my opinion it is their duty to raise their voices in this situation. I do not want to issue and appeal via Hungarian Television, but we are living in such times that if we do not speak out, the stones themselves will speak; therefore, speak we must. [end recording]

Iliescu Team Criticized on Lack of Prestige

AU1506062490 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Jun 90 p 1

[Tia Serbanescu article: "Loss of Prestige"]

[Text] From the consensus of great expectations to the consensus of petty interests—this is the road traveled surprisingly rapidly by our original democracy in the first five months. It is calm now. The small consensus accomplished its goal and is to announce the composition of the government. Waiting for the government, people come up with hypotheses. Nevertheless it is easy to note, by perusing either the list of deputies or that of the senators, that the registrations between winter and spring—naturally—prove a clear loss of stature. Unfortunately, the team that comfortably won the elections has no prestige. Moreover, it does not seem to make any efforts to gain prestige. Even the people close to President Iliescu such as Mr. Brucan, felt obliged to make reference to the mixed composition of the Front and the excessive obedience of those in the presidential entourage.

A telling example of the deplorable standard of propaganda of the winners is the AZI [TODAY] newspaper, the official daily of the National Salvation Front. It is disquieting to see that Mr. Iliescu—who is actually very exacting toward the press—is not at all embarrassed by the way this paper looks. It is probably the only one of this kind in the history of the Romanian press because of the aggressive way in which it "defends" power. It is even more disquieting that through its methods (Securitate files, fraud, insinuations, and rudeness) the AZI newspaper consents to lowering the level of curiosity of readers to absolutely dishonest areas. Even more strange (but significant!) is the fact that after presenting lists of...Iron Guardists, the newspaper makes its excuses through Mr. Birladeanu's pen by invoking the example of ROMANIA LIBERA, which slanders "Mister Iliescu." Leaving aside the capital letter [in Romanian Mr. should be spelled dl.] (which is also significant) used by Mr. Birladeanu in the appelative, we have to ask ourselves which slanders are published by our paper in connection with this high-ranking figure. Mr. Birladeanu probably views (not having any other term at hand) criticism as slander, because we are not aware of any falsity disseminated by our paper about Mr. Iliescu. This confusion in terms is convenient for the AZI newspaper in justifying and freely exercising its demolishing elan in

connection with everything that is viewed as opposition (our paper, for instance, constitutes a main source of inspiration for AZI, because it seems to be lacking in its own subjects). In fact the confusion of terms is a general trait. Thus a disquieting tendency is broadly expressed to institute new taboos in connection with people in the leadership and to make use of any kind of means to sanction the impiety committed toward them. With such "signs," the established democracy seem to become more than original: The language used in AZI betrays not only an acute lack of respect—toward both the truth and the readers—but also an imprudent encouragement of a lower level of communication. The fact that Mr. Iliescu tolerates such undignified tactics from the representative paper of the National Salvation Front, which prove an absolutely unrespectable political Balkanism, only strengthens Mr. Brucan's affirmation on the disputable moral condition of his team of collaborators.

Inquiry Commission To Investigate Unrest

AU1806174190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1617 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—With two abstentions the Chamber of Deputies adopted a decision stipulating the setting up of a commission of the two chambers of the parliament to inquire into the events over 13-15 June.

Likewise, the Chamber of Deputies adopted a motion, with a majority of votes 72 against and 7 abstentions which shows inter alia: "In consideration of the report of the minister of the interior, Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu, in connection with the unauthorized demonstrations that seriously disturb the capital city's life, the Assembly of Deputies considers as fully necessary and legitimate the interference of the public order-keeping forces, in keeping with the law, to put an end to the aforementioned states of affairs."

Taking the floor after the adoption of the motion Prime Minister Petre Roman specified that the adoption of that document prejudiced in no way the government's responsibility for those matters. "You have not voted a violent action, the repression of a political demonstration corresponding to our democratic life, you have approved the public order-keeping forces to take action in conformity with the law," he said.

Health Ministry Updates Casualty List 18 Jun

AU1806174290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1608 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—According to the Health Ministry, on June 18, at 16:00 hours, local time, the situation of the victims of the June 13-15 events is as follows: 555 people came to Bucharest hospitals and 123 were admitted. Six people died, three of them having been shot.

Police Communique on Casualties, Arrests

AU1806195390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1830 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] A communique from the Interior Ministry and the General Police Inspectorate on the 13-14 June events emphasizes that 1,480 cadres participated in the action to clear the University Square on the morning of 13 June, including 80 from the military police of the National Defense Ministry. This action ended with six people lightly wounded, including two members of the watch and guard troops. Following this action, 263 people were detained for identification and possible investigation. The detained persons were released on orders from the former interior minister the same day, after 1700 [1400 GMT].

Bricks and Molotov cocktails were used during the actions undertaken by aggressive and extremist groups against the police cordon around 1630 [1330 GMT]; 64 police cadres were wounded, of whom nine still are hospitalized. Later on, incited by some elements in the square, various cars were set on fire and the following buildings were attacked: the Bucharest Police Inspectorate, the Interior Ministry, the Romanian Information Service, and Romanian Television. Damage worth some 20 million lei was caused at the Bucharest Police Headquarters alone. From the police car fleet, 60 vehicles were destroyed and 10 were stolen; the damage amounts to 15 million lei. During the attack on the Bucharest Police Inspectorate, a machine gun, six pistols, and several hunting guns were stolen.

In the evening of 13 June and the morning of 14 June, the police checked 1,021 persons in the area of the events. Following investigations, 69 persons were arrested for various crimes; 182 were detained for various infringements; and legal proceedings were started against 83 persons, who were set free; 72 minors were returned to their families; and 32 were interned in re-education centers. The sorting out operation continues, together with the Prosecutor's Office bodies.

On 15 and 16 June, 42 other persons were identified with the help of the population, following the presentation on TV of images from the area of the incidents. Warrants were issued against and arrests were carried out on Dumitru Dinca, for assault and inciting commitment of infringements; Leon Nica, for destruction of public assets, and Marian Munteanu, for instigating violence and participation in the destruction of some public assets.

The General Prosecutor's Office announces that, on 18 June, 419 people were under investigation, of whom 355 are adults and 43 minors [figures as heard]; of this group, 157 are unemployed, 43 are pupils, seven students, four intellectuals, nine pensioners, and 195 hold various other jobs. Of the 419 people, 270 are from Bucharest, of whom 87 are jobless; 142 people come from other towns, of whom 70 are unemployed.

Demonstrators Demand Stabilization of Situation

AU1806154390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1445 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/06/1990—Representatives of industrial enterprises in Bucharest staged a demonstration on Monday in front of the Romanian Parlament building from 10:00 [0700 GMT] to 14:00 hours [1100 GMT], local time, while the Assembly of Deputies held its session inside. The roughly 1,000 demonstrators requested the parliamentarians to take palpable actions to stabilize the situation in the capital city.

MDUR Statement on Miercurea Ciuc Events

AU1806174390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] dissociates from the act of violence in Miercurea Ciuc against police headquarters made by irresponsible persons and at the same time regrets that the public opinion was "tendentiously informed" about the reason of that reprobative deed, reads a MDUR statement signed by the union's presidium.

The same statement condemns the fact that on June 14 Messrs. Zsolt Szilagyi and Laszlo Zsigmond, elected in the Assembly of Deputies on the MDUR list, were maltreated and detained without any justification by civil persons making use of prerogatives which should be exercised exclusively by the legal order-keeping authorities.

"The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania brands all the manifestations of violence, the violation of legality, the disregard of the most elementary human rights" and "considers it necessary that the present state of crisis be overruled through the instauration of a climate of harmony and dialogue among all political and social forces in the country. We are determined to actively participate in this effort," the statement shows.

The MDUR honorary president, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, expressed in a letter sent to Romania's President Elect Ion Iliescu his as well as the Romanian Hungarians' concern over the "blamable events having taken place in the capital city."

I appeal to you demanding to put an end to the violent actions started by the forcefully breaking up of the peaceful demonstration in Bucharest's University Square and to make the relevant fora bring all guilty persons to account.

Ursu Concerned Over 'Unauthorized' Demonstrations

AU1806190390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1648 GMT 18 Jun 90

["Parliamentary Agenda: Interior Minister's Address"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/6/1990—Addressing the Assembly of Deputies, the minister of the interior, Dan Ursu, expressed his concern over the recurrence of unauthorized manifestations in central Bucharest on Sunday and Monday, although he himself has made several appeals to calm and quietness, inviting all participants associations to a dialogue but no agreement having been made until now. Therefore, the minister of the interior appealed to the Assembly of Deputies which has been legally constituted today to clearly express their stand on the acts of inciting to violence and chaos manifest now in the University Square. The public order forces are waiting for such a support of legitimate authority, the Romanian official underscored.

Following this appeal, deputy N.S. Stanescu, on behalf of the National Salvation Front, proposed the deputies that a resolution be made concerning the intervention of the public order forces in keeping with the law.

Resumes Dialogue With Students

AU1806190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/6/1990—On Monday, at about 8 p.m., at the Headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior it was resumed the dialogue started on June 14 between the minister of the interior, Mr. Doru Viorel Ursu, and representatives of associations and organizations. The dialogue goes on.

'Small Incidents' in University Square Reported

AU1806183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—A group of about 100- 200 protesters gathered in the University Square in the evening chanting "Asasinii" (Assassins,) "Jos Comunismul" (Down With Communism). The group stopped in front of the National Theatre where they continued to chant the same slogans, then parted away a part of them headed toward the Romana Square. Between 6 and 8 p.m. small incidents took place in the University Square.

Demonstrators Chant Antigovernment Slogans

AU1806190190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1719 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/6/1990—Several hundred citizens were in the University Square Monday evening. The traffic was blocked. The greatest part of the demonstrators were gathered in front of the "Ion Mincu"

Architecture Institute. Isolated groups of citizens young in their greatest majority were chanting antigovernmental slogans. Animated talks were held on the recent events in the capital city as well as on the current political and social situation in the country. The demonstration in the University Square is peaceful, without acts of violence.

University Square Traffic Back to Normal

AU1906095290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0845 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Political Life—The University Square on June 19 in the Morning"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—Traffic is going on normally in the Bucharest University Square on June 19 in the morning. The ribbons marking the limits of the "Neocommunism-free zone" have vanished. On the sidewalks in the zone people go freely to and fro. Public administration has seen to it that everything is clean. The peddlers who used to offer imported goods too, have vanished. Green belts are rearranged in front of the National Theatre, flowers and ornamental trees are being planted.

Roman on 15 Jun Events, Reasons for Violence

LD1506214990 Paris Antenne 2 Television in French 1800 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Interview via satellite link with Prime Minister Petre Roman in Bucharest by program announcer Herve Claude and reporter Stephane Manier in Paris—live]

[Text] [Claude] Good evening, prime minister. The [satellite] connection was difficult, but at last we are hearing you. The question asked by all the French people, of course, is why did the government finally resort to these miners and their violence?

[Roman] The question is simple. It is correct in the sense a legitimate government that resulted from free elections...[changes thought] Why have we arrived at this absolutely unusual situation, the intervention of civilian forces into a situation of civilian disorder, as it seems? Well, one must put oneself in the context of this democracy's birth. I heard a while ago President Mitterrand's statement, and I only can say one thing: it is a reasonable and correct statement. So, in putting ourselves in the context of this Romanian democracy's birth, we found ourselves facing events we never expected at any moment: extreme violence. It is not the violence of students, workers, or people opposed to the government through protest which would, in a way, be legitimate. We are facing a nucleus of implacable elements, I would say, but who still are linked to the most suspicious groups of the population: speculators, traffickers, and gangs controlling prostitution, who start thinking the establishment of public order was, above all and particularly, targeted against them.

[Claude] There are, however, the police, whose task is to counter these people.

[Roman] Yes, you are right. The police could not cope with what you saw and which, unfortunately, it seems to me, was not transmitted very clearly to you—that is, the reaction of these organised groups was absolutely unbelievable. They threw Molotov cocktails, hoping they would cause great damage. They set fire to police cars and buses. They attacked the police headquarters. They attacked the Interior Ministry building...

[Claude, interrupting] And you sent organized miners?

[Roman] No, sir! That is not true! We first tried to send all the police forces at our disposal; it was not enough; it was not used to this kind of riot. In particular one should understand there always is, let us say, this force that is still linked to the former regime. The police were not trained to use force, real force, when it is needed in the context of democratic legitimacy. It is not true sir! We did not call the miners. We, the president appealed to the citizens of Bucharest, given the state of public disorder in which we were living. The miners arrived, it is true. One should understand their reaction. This nucleus on University Square had been unleashing its force for nearly two months.

[Claude] We all understood this, Petre Roman...

[Journalist Stephane Manier, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Claude] Wait. Yes, there is in fact something very disturbing, prime minister. Was it just by chance that trains—which take many hours to prepare—and buses were ready to take these miners to the city center to intervene?

[Roman] No. When we knew they had left Valajiul and from some other places...[changes thought] But not only miners came. There are also steel workers from Galace. There were also other workers who arrived. We did not have the means to stop them. We managed to stop some ...

[Claude, interrupting] But the buses and trains were ready!

[Roman] Wait, wait. There were buses, in fact. These buses, however, were not there at the trains' arrival; these buses only were used today to take them to the train stations to leave.

[Claude] No?

[Roman] No sir, I am sorry; they walked from the train stations to the city center.

[Claude] That is not how observers saw things.

[Roman] I do not wish to argue about this because I understand the essence of your question. You ask why the miners were given the task of reestablishing public order, which is not their job. You are right, but one

should put oneself in the context we are living. I think there is some misinformation here...[interrupted by cross-talk in the Paris studio]

[Manier, interrupting] Prime minister, wouldn't it be simple to discuss things with these students on University Square?

[Roman] But I repeat it again, sir. It was not the students who did this.

[Claude] Oh, come on! We saw them. Those who were injured were students...

[Roman, interrupting] Well, if there are injured students, this happened perhaps today. I am, however, speaking about the moment when there was a rebellion of these, these, I cannot find the appropriate word—these organized gangs, determined people. They looted shops, set cars on fire, they tried to create panic...

[Claude, interrupting] You already have said that. One question, prime minister: In France we have the impression that the Securitate is coming back strongly through these miners.

[Roman] How is that? There is no link. This amuses me a little bit. Did you know that four years ago, they [the miners] were the only ones to oppose the Ceausescu regime? If you remember that in 1977, these miners, these very miners were those who fought against the dictatorship. There were deaths among them, many deaths. Some people were sent to camps. It was them! I think it is going over the top to describe them as fascist gangs.

[Claude] The last question, Mr. Petre Roman. The international condemnation is unanimous. Does that not embarrass you?

[Roman] Yes, it embarrasses me. It embarrasses us a lot. It particularly embarrasses us because there is one very important thing to say. We have fought for democracy. We made the revolution for democracy, and whatever else is said, this incident will not take us back. On the contrary, we still are determined to push democracy and democratic institutions further. We are for the opposition, for the right of media free speech, and generally for all Romanian society. We still are determined to appeal to Western democracies to understand what is happening here. I hope you do not mind if I send a message to the French people, whom I feel very close to: Trust us; we are still the same; we have not changed. We do not cling to power; we do not have any interest—and I also speak on behalf of President Iliescu—we do not have any interst, even from a personal standpoint, in clinging to power. We wanted one thing: democracy and the prosperity of the Romanian people, and we have started to build this prosperity. In this building process, we are determined to appeal to Western democracies because, it is true, harm has now been done to Romania's image. This is very bad for us, but come to see us.

[Claude] We are doing that, and we already are on the spot. Thank you, Mr. Petre Roman for being our guest.

Police Chief on University Square Events

AU1806102390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0559 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/6/1990—More than one thousand suspects are being investigated for their part in the acts of violence perpetrated in the afternoon of 13 June and in the night of 13 to 14 June, Major General Dumitru Bitlan, Bucharest's police chief, told a news agency ROMPRES editor on 16 June at around 8.00 a.m. in a telephone interview. Last night, he said, some 150-200 gypsies armed with axes, clubs, bars, knives, chains and rocks gathered in Ferentari District and Rahova Square where they seized a bus operated by the city transport company and a refuse disposal motor vehicle which they boarded with the alleged intention to head for the North Railway Station to fight the departing miners. They also came before No. 18 Police Station with the obvious intention of attacking it. Steps were taken in both cases, warning shots were fired and the problem was solved.

About twenty extremists who took part in the University Square violence, in the ransacking and destruction of 13-14 June were also traced down. At the same time, several persons were set free after investigations showed they were not involved in the 13 June action.

Investigations are under way to lawfully establish the guilt of the persons who took part in the previous-day acts of violence and send them in court.

Wednesday morning, when action was taken in University Square, there was no hunger striker in the tent area, Major General Dumitru Bitlan added.

NSF, NLP Draft Senate Declarations on Unrest

AU1806145990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 18 Jun 90

["Draft declarations" by Romulus Vulpescu and Radu Campeanu on behalf of the National Salvation Front and the National Liberal Party, respectively; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vulpescu] Romania's Senate, made up of the nation's legal representatives elected at the 20 May popular ballot, with the mission of laying the foundation of a new democratic Romania, presents to the people the following solemn declaration:

Convinced that nothing and no one can divert the Romanian people from the road chosen after the December 1989 revolution, the Senate members, sharing the legitimate emotion and concern of the whole population of the country, most energetically condemn the acts of violence and vandalism committed on 13 June by extremist elements in Bucharest, who, through the savageness and cruelty of the methods used, (?took up) the

sinister Iron-Guardist and fascist practices used in the past. The obvious aim of these elements was the country's destabilization, the overthrow of the country's legal leadership, and the hampering of the consolidation of the democratic foundation of life in our fatherland.

In these circumstances, the annihilation of the action of these extremist elements took place through the resolute riposte of public bodies and through an important number of citizens from Bucharest and the counties, with an important role devolving onto the miners. In view of the fact that violence usually nurtures further violence, the Senate expresses regret over the fact that, in the process of reestablishing public order, certain excesses were committed, such as the harassment of some who were not directly involved in the events, the ransacking of some political parties headquarters—the NSF, the NLP, and the National Peasants' (Christian Democratic Party) Party [NPCDP]—and threats against some public figures. The Senate resolutely disapproves of these actions, considering that they run counter to the principles of law and democratic institutions.

At this time it is absolutely necessary that all the country's political forces, acting above the political and programmatic differences between them, should ensure that the Romanian people's interests prevail, and should continue and expand the course of structural economic, social, and political changes started with the December revolution.

We call on all the country's democratic forces to support the establishment of an atmosphere of calm and quiet, and to unconditionally observe the state of law. While ensuring the free expression of opinions, both in the mass information media and in public meetings, the Senate also requests that the government and the other bodies legally in charge of guaranteeing public order and quiet take immediate steps to exactly apply the country's laws and firmly punish all those who violate the law. The Senate calls on all citizens to show reasonableness and wisdom as well as a spirit of responsibility and constructive action in order to achieve the sacred goals of our revolution.

The Senate deems it necessary to set up a joint parliamentary commission of both chambers to investigate the incidents and their root causes. This commission should submit its conclusions and recommended measures to the parliament's approval.

[Unidentified speaker] I believe that the parliamentary groups have the text of this draft. Am I right? Well, let us now hear the draft declaration of the NLP.

[Campeanu] Declaration:

The NLP parliamentary group, deeply concerned over the serious events of 13, 14, and 15 June, which jeopardize the political stability and democracy in Romania, demands:

Point one: the urgent establishment of a parliamentary enquiry commission to investigate events in the aforementioned period.

Point two: that the commission establish the truth about the causes and the unfolding of events and about the inherent responsibilities.

Point three: that the commission reserve the right to hear the testimony of persons who are obliged, in accordance with the law, (?to assist) the investigatory and criminal proceedings, and persons actually involved in these events.

Point four: that the commission be made up of representatives of all parliamentary groups.

We will copy this declaration and distribute it to all senators.

Opposition Leaders' Arrests Detailed

AU1906091590 Paris AFP in English
0042 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 19 (AFP)—Romanian authorities announced the arrest of student and opposition leaders as about 1,000 demonstrators, in a continued show of antigovernment defiance, returned to University Square Monday.

It was the second day of protests following the bloody incidents last week when miners were called in to crush antigovernment rioting.

The Romanian parliament, meeting here Monday, approved the use of security forces against the protestors, following a request by the new interior minister, Doru Viorel Ursu.

The official news agency Rompres announced the arrests of Marian Munteanu, leader of the national students' league, Dumitru Dinca, a leader of a six-week University Square sit-in, and National Democratic Party chairman Leon Nica. It did not say when the arrests had taken place.

Mr. Munteanu had been severely beaten by miners who discovered him on Bucharest University premises during their rampage through the city center.

Several sources said police made the arrest at the hospital where he was being treated for his injuries.

ROMPRES said he was being charged with inciting violence and destroying public property.

Mr. Dinca was charged with "insulting behavior" and inciting lawlessness while Mr. Nica was accused of destroying public property, the news agency said.

The protest Monday dispersed without incident shortly before midnight.

Earlier in the day anti-government and pro-government groups fought with fists and umbrellas in University

Square, the rallying point for student demonstrators opposed to the ruling National Salvation Front and President Ion Iliescu.

The Square was evacuated by police last Wednesday, touching off rioting which in turn brought thousands of miners into central Bucharest where they attacked suspected antigovernment protestors and ransacked the headquarters of opposition parties.

The European Economic Community on Monday refused to sign a newly drafted trade agreement with Romania in protest against the government's crackdown on demonstrators last week.

It also recommended the exclusion of Romania from a 24-nation aid initiative for Eastern Europe by western industrialized countries.

Accurate Reporting Requested From Journalists

AU1806185990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1717 GMT 18 Jun 90

["Political Life: The Government—Conscious of its Delicate Position"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/6/1990—The Romanian Government is conscious of its delicate position but it is firmly determined to continue the process of democratizing the Romanian society, a Romanian Government's spokesman stated during the press conference arranged at intercontinental hotel on Monday. He requested the foreign journalists to accurately reflect the course of the tragical events in Bucharest on June 13-14, to present the events exactly as they had taken place and not by rumours, to make a correct connection between the events on 13 June and those on 14 June, showing their chronological course: Firstly the legal intervention of the police against the abusive occupation of the University Square, then the brutal, neofascist-type attacks on state institutions and, on the second day, the population's normal reaction against aggressors, with regrettable accidents and confusions from which the government firmly dissociates.

ROMANIA LIBERA To Stay Independent

AU1806200790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1830 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] A general meeting was held today [18 June] by the ROMANIA LIBERA editorial staff at which it was decided—on the basis of a secret ballot—that the daily will continue to be published with the same organizational structure and the same independent position in accordance with the contents of the following declaration:

We understand that our newspaper's opinions have not found a positive response in some groups or segments of the population. Under these circumstances, we are dealing with a problem that can be discussed within a dialogue; different opinions may exist on the same political problems or of any other nature in a democratic state. We do not believe and have never claimed that we hold a monopoly of truth.

Taking into consideration the above, the declaration continues, we believe that the current management of the paper has to begin an open and sincere dialogue with those groups and social strata which think that their viewpoints are not contained in our paper, on the one hand, and on the other hand, we have to have (?open) and constant contact with the representatives of the elected authorities.

The ROMANIA LIBERA editorial board, the communique points out, has been set up legally. It is made up of skilled journalists and people of good faith who—under the newly created conditions in the wake of the revolution—want to serve truth.

Obviously, the opinions of ROMANIA LIBERA sometimes may have been different from those of other socio-political groups—they can and actually have been contested—however, this is normal in a democratic state. It has never been the intention of our paper, the communique specifies, to provoke the destabilization of our society or to incite violence and irresponsible acts by any means; on the contrary, our paper's entire publishing activity has pursued and continues to pursue the strengthening of the democratic climate and the protection and increase in moral and cultural values gained through the people's revolution of December 1989.

ROMANIA LIBERA has been, is, and wants to remain an independent and patriotic paper and a rostrum for promoting all democratic ideas capable of contributing to accelerating the progress of the Romanian civilization.

In this context, the communique emphasizes in conclusion, it is necessary for the legal authorities to ensure proper conditions for normal editorial activities in complete security.

ROMANIA LIBERA Published Again

AU1906105190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0923 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—Tuesday ROMANIA LIBERA has come out again after a five-day interruption following the decision of the "Presa Libera" (Free Press) Polygraphic Trade Union and the administration of the Bucharest Polygraphic Combine to continue printing this newspaper claiming the miners' menace to devastate the printing-works.

The editorial staff of the newspaper complied with the Printing Workers Trade Union's request by publishing the following text in its June 19 issue: "The collectivity of printing workers who contribute to bringing out this publication have nothing in common with the content of the articles which distort reality."

We should specify that a general meeting of ROMANIA LIBERA editorial staff was held on June 18 to decide the further publication of the daily with the same organizational structure, in keeping with a communique approved by the same meeting. The communique shows, inter alia, that ROMANIA LIBERA was, is, and wants to remain a patriotic independent newspaper, a tribune for the dissemination of all democratic ideas apt to help speed up the progress of Romanian civilization, for which "the legal authorities should provide conditions for a normal development and full security of editorial activities." "We have never intended to provoke the destabilization of society in any way, all the less by inciting to violence and irresponsible acts."

In connection with the interruption in the printing of ROMANIA LIBERA, we give note of a "strike statement" senior staff writer Ion Stoica of ROMANIA LIBERA published in the daily DIMINEATA showing: "I go on strike starting June 16, 1990 by refusing to contribute to the newspaper's content and publication, as a sign of protest against the policy promoted by the Steering Committee." Since January ROMANIA LIBERA "has visibly slipped into the sphere of subjectivism of a certain orientation, betraying its mission of being a means apt to help the country's stability. In fact it incited, directly or indirectly, to disorder and tension, and ignored the real demands of the economic, political and social life. [no close quotes as received]

Tuesday, too, the daily DREPTATEA, mouthpiece of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party, came out again after being stopped to for the same reasons as ROMANIA LIBERA.

Timisoara Commemorates Dec Heroes

AU1706163390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1503 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/6/1990—A requiem to commemorate the heroes who died last December in the martyr town of Timisoara was held at the triptych in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral in that town on Sunday. The requiem was officiated by a group of priests with the participation of the cathedral choir. Wreaths were laid and the audience lit candles.

Investigations on T. Mures Events Concluded

AU1806185790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 18 Jun 90

["Parliamentary Agenda: Soon—the Conclusions on the Events in Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/6/1990—The speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Dan Martian, announced that two days ago the assembly was presented the report of the inquiry commission headed by Mr. Ion Minzatu with conclusions and evidence related to the events in Tirgu Mures. The report will be submitted to the deputies for consideration in the shortest possible time, function also of the creation of the Bureau of the Assembly of Deputies.

Timisoara Official on Demonstration Cancellation

LD1906110490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] While the RMDSZ [Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania] has issued a further statement of protest, and demonstrations continue in Bucharest, one demonstration was called off in Timisoara. Our special reporter, Eva Cseh, reports:

[Cseh] The Timisoara Society [Temesvari Tarsasag] had organized a demonstration for Sunday. The demonstration, however, failed to come about. I asked (?Dural Mehic), member of the leadership in the Timisoara Society, why the meeting was not held.

[Begin Mehic recording, in Romanian with superimposed translation into Hungarian] After the events in Bucharest, and not knowing exactly the government position vis-a-vis the realities, or its genuine position, and also knowing the fact that there was a well-organized action to wind up the opposition, it appeared right that we should not hold this meeting, because we perhaps would be providing an opportunity for the miners to come to Timisoara, too. Thus, the approach of the inhabitants here would not have been that of some of the inhabitants of Bucharest—it is absolutely certain that it would have turned into a real civil war. We do not want to cause violence, nor do we want to support it. We also do not want to provide an opportunity for any manifestation of this type. [end recording]

Iliescu Inauguration Scheduled 20 Jun

AU1806151390 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, June 18 (AFP)—Romanian president-elect Ion Iliescu is to be officially inaugurated Wednesday, officials here said Monday [18 Jun], as government supporters and opponents clashed in University Square.

The Romanian parliament met meanwhile and elected Dan Martian, candidate of the National Salvation Front (NSF), which has been in power since the December ouster of Nicolae Ceausescu, as president of the Chamber of Deputies. Mr. Martian received the backing of 266 deputies in the 396-seat lower house while 111 voted against him. The Front has an absolute majority in parliament with 92 senators out of 119 and 233 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Adrian Severin, candidate for parliamentary leader of the Magyar Democratic Union, which represents Romania's ethnic Hungarian minority, was supported by 92 deputies while 285 voted against him.

Dan Lazarescu, put forward by the opposition National Liberal Party and the National Peasants Party, received 19 votes in favor and 358 against.

Alexandru Birladeanu, 78, of the NSF was elected speaker of the senate.

Official spokesmen said that the twice-postponed inauguration of Mr. Iliescu, whose NSF won a landslide victory in May 20 parliamentary and presidential elections, would be held on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Assembly Session Terms Crackdown 'Legitimate'

LD1806210190 Bucharest International Service in English 1930 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Romania's two-chamber parliament met in session in Bucharest on Monday [18 June]. [passage omitted on proceedings at Deputies' Assembly] The Deputies' Assembly also adopted, with a majority of votes, a motion which reads—we quote: Taking into account the report tabled by Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu, in connection with the unauthorized demonstrations, which seriously disturb normal life in our capital city, the Deputies' Assembly regards as thoroughly necessary and legitimate the intervention of the public order forces, in keeping with the law, so as to do away with (?their) [words indistinct]—unquote.

Further on Session

AU1906074690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0651 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—The Assembly of Deputies one of the two chambers of Romania's Parliament resumed proceedings in plenum on June 19 in the morning.

The agenda includes the election of the Chamber's Standing Bureau as well as of the members of the Joint Parliamentary Commission that is to investigate the causes and responsibilities of those who committed reprovable acts during the events in the capital on June 13-15, 1990.

The session was opened by Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies.

Standing Bureau Composition Discussed

AU1906084290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0816 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Parliamentary Life—Composition of the Assembly of Deputies' Standing Bureau"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—Before making nominations for the election of the Standing Bureau, the Assembly of Deputies discussed the proposal made by Deputy Scrieciu Gheorghe in behalf of the parties and political formations of the Democratic Bloc to raise the number of deputy chairmen of the Bureau from three to four and of the quaestors also from three to four. The proposal was substantiated by the idea of a better representation of the parties and political formations on the Standing Bureau.

With a majority of votes, the Assembly of Deputies endorsed the rise in the number of deputy chairmen to four and the reduction, upon another proposal, of the number of quaestors from three to two, in order to have in the end eleven deputies on the Standing Bureau.

Another proposal was then advanced, to keep the proportions of representation of the political parties and formations on the bureau, according to the electorate's options, through the assignment of the four offices of secretary of the Bureau as follows: three for the NSF [National Salvation Front] and one for the other parties or political formations, the proposal was endorsed with a majority of votes.

After that, proposals were made for the composition of the Assembly of Deputies' Standing Bureau.

List of Proposed Members

AU1906104890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0927 GMT 19 Jun 90

["Parliamentary Diary—Assembly of Deputies Standing Bureau Proposed"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/6/1990—Following the talks held by the groupings represented to the parliament, proposals were made to the chairman of the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Dan Martian, for the Standing Bureau of the Assembly. Vice-presidents: Marian Enache, Ionel Roman—National Salvation Front, Mircea Ionescu- Quintus—National Liberal Party, Ion Ratiu—Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party, Nagy Bela—Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, Cevdric Victor—Ecologic and Social Democratic Grouping, Mircea Cretu—National Union Group, Dumitru Teaci—Centre Democratic Grouping. Secretaries: Bogdan Patrascu, Cazimir Ionescu, Nicolae Radu—National Salvation Front, Radu Rosculet—National Liberal Party, Vasile Gionea—Christian and Democratic National Peasants Party, Madaras Lazar—Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, Toderas Ion—National Union Group, Serghei Mezaros—Centre Democratic Grouping. Questors: Emil Stoica—National Salvation Front, Mircea Horia Rusu—National Liberal Party, Paul Ciobanu—National Union Group, Gheorghe Raducanu—Ethnic Minorities Grouping, Valeriu Pescaru—Centre Democratic Grouping, Florea Ion—Ecologic and Social Democratic Grouping.

Senate President Martian Election Speech

AU1806154690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Speech by Deputies' Assembly President Dan Martian at the Deputies' Assembly session in Bucharest on 18 June—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, stepping on this rostrum, I am overwhelmed by emotion. First, I want to thank you for your trust in electing me president of the Deputies' Assembly. I am overtaken by emotion because, like any other senators present in this hall, I am also aware of the burden of responsibility that all of us, including me, have to shoulder.

Indeed, we are a parliament, a Deputies' Assembly, that is the outcome of an extremely important electoral process, when the people could express themselves freely and make their choice. Consequently, we are all duty-bound to adopt laws and regulations that can concretely meet some needs, requirements, and aspirations, which were at the basis of our revolution last December and which were broadly discussed during the electoral campaign. Through our joint work and our creative and working ability, we will have to satisfy these aspirations. This is the people's great expectation from all of us.

Second, we are called upon, together with the Senators, to form an assembly designed to work out a new constitution, so much needed by our people and country. The constitution that we will adopt must set out from the realities and requirements of the Romanian society in its present configuration. One should proceed from our political, historical, and state traditions. The constitution should incorporate all these good, positive, and necessary things; however, on this foundation, one should develop ideas, principles, and mechanisms which should satisfy the current needs and requirements of today's Romanian society.

The constitution that we will work out must also proceed and achieve, in keeping with urgent requirements, mechanisms, and frameworks for the assertion of the values of democracy, which are of universal nature and absolutely necessary for the development of human personality and for humanity's emancipation. Therefore, it will be hard work, in which all of us, with our skills and power of thinking, translation, codification, and concretization, must do our best to be up to the level of the requirements raised by such an important document as the constitution. Of course, only through joint work and a spirit of cooperation and collaboration, will we manage to accomplish this.

We are a pluralist and diverse Deputies' Assembly. In general, our history shows that pluralism and diversity are sources of the progress, development, and advance of a society—I am obviously thinking of the pluralism which reflects the sociological structure of a society and which represents, reflects, and gives conscious expression to the economic structure and the specific phenomena [words indistinct]. Therefore, I believe that diversity and pluralism are beneficial elements, which we should all cultivate.

Obviously, it would be naive and facile to believe that the political formations to which we belong, in their diversity of choice, will be able to (?put aside) the differences which give them their individual identity. This is not possible and not even desirable, because it would take us back to the time of the revolution. However, I think that our Assembly should be a place of dialogue and meeting between various trends and currents, where they can jointly explore ways and means leading to convergence on major issues; the Assembly (?should be) a place of dialogue and communication, so that the people's major interests can be satisfied through our cooperation and joint work.

In this way, I believe that we will fulfill our task, something which will enable our country to recover its lagging behind and to resolve the batch of complicated problems on which the commendable conclusion of the last decade of this century depends, thus laying the foundation for Romania, our people, and the nation to be able to face the complex and most exacting problems raised by our successful entrance into the next millennium.

With the hope that we will be able to cooperate fruitfully, I thank you again for the trust put in me. I promise to do my utmost to ensure that the activity of the Deputies' Assembly will be most successful. Thank you. [applause]

Transition Strategy to Market Economy Viewed

AU1306182490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 13 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/6/1990—The fourth chapter, "Reequipment of Branches and Modernization of the National Economy: Economic Disbalances of the Transition Period," of the draft on the strategy of transition to market economy in Romania, elaborated by a commission set up by the provisional government and led by Acad. Tudorel Postolache. [sentence as received]

In the period of transition, already in its first stage will start the process of reequipment of the branches of the national economy, which will proceed in a new economic, financial and legislative framework.

Drafted in a rough form, the programs of reequipment of the various branches are to be deepened and interrelated in June-July this year.

In association with the package of these programs, substantiated in several alternate variants will be the projections of Romania's socio-economic development in 1990-1992 and in a longer range.

The updating of the national economy will be based on electronization, introduction of data processing, robotization as fundamental directions of the current revolution in science and technology. Of decisive importance is the penetration of microelectronics and data processing into the structure of products, of production processes and equipment, in the systems of information, of substantiation and making of decisions. Within this process, an essential role devolves to introduction of data processing in education and research and design activities, the revolutionizing on this basis of management, which

is a stringent requirement of the passage to the market economy. Data processing is to make an important contribution to the resolution of social issues by providing the requisites for the prompt adjustment of the offer of goods to demand, the technological updating of health protection, the raising of the whole population's level of culture and instruction, the exigent surveillance of ecological phenomena, the promotion of new forms of rest and relaxation. Data processing will thus become the technological support of raising Romania up to the level of present-day material and spiritual civilization. The process of modernization of the national economy will show markedly in a substantive increase of the share of the tertiary sector in the GNP.

The process of development and reequipment of the economy should resolve at the beginning of the transition specific problems and certain grave disbalances and contradictions in sectors, generated by the bureaucratic centralized character of the economic system under dictatorship, by the irrational and inefficient nature of the distribution of the resources, the low economic performance of all sectors of material production, which entail two ways of approach:

An immediate one, that should not wait for the integral implementation of the mechanisms of the market economy and for which practical, operative solutions should be found through the cooperation of all factors concerned;

Another one, that pertains to the unfolding of the process of restructuring of the national economy's branches.

1. In power engineering there is a grave discrepancy between the potential of primary energy resources and the energy requirements of the economy in its current, hard-energy consuming structure and with the technology in operation. This discrepancy will be increased in a near future by the necessity to resolutely cut on the gas consumption for power generation, in view of earmarking larger amounts to a better capitalization, through chemicalization (the current structure of the natural gas consumption is: In thermoelectric power plants 28,4 percent; chemicalization 12.5 percent; technological consumption in industry 48.1 percent; tertiary sector 1.9 percent; population's consumption 9.1 percent).

The balance of the primary energy is currently evened some 40 percent with imported resources, as the home supplies are limited with coal and electricity generated by hydroelectric power plants, as well as with crude and natural gas production which is receding.

Under the circumstances, the implementation of the programs of nuclear power engineering and development of the countries hydroelectric power potential should be continued at higher rates.

2. The situation is similar also with regard to the disbalance between the raw materials base and the capacities in existence. Therefore, a major target of reequipment in all branches that consume raw materials is the manufacturing of new products and the application of modern technologies that should lead to a substantive reduction of consumption and technological losses.

3. Environmental protection and the observance of a rational level of wood felling require the updating and redesign of the products that take big consumption and first of all furniture and wooden package, as well as the reequipment of the pulp and paper industry.

4. In the relations of industry and agriculture big discrepancies emerged both ways, meaning both in terms of farm raw materials supplies to processing industrial branches and of meeting agriculture's vital requirements of industrial goods. In agriculture, the production of technical crops should be developed sunflower, sugar beets, textile plants, potatoes for industrialization, etc. that should be up to the requirements of the economy.

In turn, industry is to develop the range of chemicals for an intensive agriculture, naturally in conditions of extended use in agriculture of manure and of pest-resistant species, as well as of efficient, viable and cheap farm machinery.

A fundamental contradiction will be manifest in the economic policy, between the exigencies of a policy pursuing the control of the budget deficit and a monetary policy of stabilization, and the financial pressure exerted by the unprofitable activities.

The mechanisms of the market economy will disclose numerous discrepancies between the current structure of production and the (internal and external) demand, that will show in the underuse of certain capacities and the firing of manpower therein employed, price rises with scarce products, a reorientation of investments, etc. If left exclusively to the free market for adjustment, the risk would emerge of an excessive extension of the time taken for these processes to be completed, as well as the risk of emergence of other economic and social issues, with uncontrollable evolution and unforeseeable consequences. We should take advantage of the advanced countries' experience of active and flexible intervention of the government bodies, that by a judiciously articulated and consistently promoted policy should favour the modernization and development of the national economy.

The forms and dimensions of the state's intervention in sustaining these programs must not alter the functioning of the national economy as a whole, based on the market mechanisms.

Real democratization and self-management of the units is the most efficient way to be taken.

For the crucial issues the resolution of which requires great material and financial efforts (hard to bear by separate units) special programs must be started.

The state will have to offer financial facilities subsidies, convenient credits, export bonuses, etc or of other kind to the sectors that are expected to go through profound revampings of their activities, as well as to the new enterprises (pursuing mainly the development of the private sector) in the priority domains of development of the national economy.

Bankruptcy is part of the market laws as well, whose acceptance, with all its consequences, is compulsory for the implementation of the processes of modernization of the economy, as well as for its normal development generally.

Contradictions emerge because of the differing rates of modernization of the main branches. We have inherited unfinished investments worth some 380 billion lei, the finalization of which would take another 450 billion lei (i.e. the investment potential of the economy for some two years), all while a good deal of the respective projects were conceived uneconomically in the beginning.

The introduction of the principles of the market economy, especially in its initial and decisive stage, will proceed in a milieu imbued with the inertia of the old system (cadres training and experience, the relations between individuals and sociogroups, the bureaucratic structures that obtain for some time, the social psychology still influenced by the administrative methods, etc). The elimination of this system therefore calls for a genuine managerial revolution. This is a priority, a vital question.

The transformation of the economy is a process with a marked cultural dimension; the Romanian society must learn how the market works right in the process of transition. It is necessary that an as big number of youth as possible go to advanced countries for studies and practical activity.

A string of problems emerge also because of the inevitably uneven evolution of the components of the economic mechanism; because of their essentially different structure, the elimination of the elements of the old system and the entrenchment of the elements of the new system do not coincide either in time or domains. The deadlocks and the uncontrollable evolutions generated by such situations would be inherently matched by inflation that may become a real scourge of the economy.

Commission Presents Strategies

AU1806131590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1036 GMT 18 Jun 90

["The Strategy of Transition to the Market Economy (VI)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/06/1990—The fifth chapter, "The Ensurance of a Legal Framework," of the draft on the strategy of transition to the market economy in Romania, elaborated by a commission set up by the Provisional Government and led by Acad. Tudorel Postolache.

To pass on to a market economy an adequate legal framework should be institutionalised in an attempt at regulating all economic agents in a unitary, undiscriminatory manner. A number of legislative steps along that line were taken right after the revolution.

However, the necessary legal framework as a whole will be set up by taking account of the general strategy of transition to the market economy. There are three possible modalities of approaching that complex problem:

a) By initiating practical actions after the whole package of legal norms that comprehensively sanction market-economy mechanisms have been worked out?
b) By applying the necessary practical steps, concomitantly with a phased-out adoption of the new normative acts, throughout the transition period?
c) By elaborating a legal framework which, instituting the bases of the market economy, should provide for the arrangement of the actions envisaged along that line and for the subsequent materialization of the regulations specific to various areas of activity as the necessary experience is being accumulated.

The first variant boasts the advantage of a greater inner coherence but it postpones the application of the market-economy mechanisms, all while maintaining the risk implied by the elaboration of laws in the absence of a relevant socioeconomic practice.

The second variant, which, at least apparently, is more operative, runs the risk of the new regulations being mutually uncorrelated.

The third variant, which enshrines the basic principles and mechanisms of the market economy, aims at avoiding shortfalls, without missing the advantages of the first two variants. It is this outlook that underlays the proposals for "normative act to be adopted." Noteworthy among the advantages of this solution are:

—The overcoming of the confusion caused by the multifold approaches to the market economy, which are often inarticulate and dominated by an absolutization of details that have nothing to do with the economic time and space?
—The surmounting of the opposition between "shock therapy" and "gradual transition" and, more particularly, of the lack of certainty the latter implies as it sanctions the regime of law of the market economy as a whole?
—The guaranteeing, from the very beginning, of the irreversibility and the credibility of the institution of the market economy, on which the behaviour of internal agents, of international economic, financial and banking bodies, of the states boasting a developed economy.

The content of the legal framework is represented by the fundamental principles of an economy set on competition, for which our country has opted, and the conservation of its perennial values.

a) With this as a basis, an economic-financial framework will be instituted which includes provisions such as:

—The guarantee start and the normal unfolding of the process of privatization of enterprises on stimulative and committing economic bases?
—The autonomy of economic enterprises and organizations in all production sectors and services, no matter the form of property?
—The ensurance of an unhampered operation of competition for all enterprises?
—The liberalization of prices, of international economic relations and of capital flows?
—The guaranteeing of foreign investors?

—The promotion of activities to regulate economic processes on a macro-economic level, more particularly by sizing the amount of money, the incomes and the budget spending, the elaboration of development strategies as "market studies on a national scale".

b) Furthermore, the social framework of the period of transition to the market economy should be defined with reference to the employment and utilization of labour, wage payments, social security, working conditions, quality of life, environmental protection, etc.

c) Moreover, a framework for economic activities by sectors will be defined, more particularly as concerns the organizational structure and the implementation of programmes for the technological reequipment of various branches of the national economy.

The legal sanctioning of the fundamental principles of the market economy set on competition orient, correlate, and guarantee the implementation of the transition programme that may be applied through operative regulations, on the basis of the law, on a government level or even at the level of ministries and other specialized central bodies with economic activity, as virtually required by the principle of separation of powers.

With this legal framework as a basis, the government may be authorized, for a limited period of time, of one or two years, to adopt primary norms on the organization and management of economic activities in the process of supplying market-economy mechanisms.

In elaborating the legal norms for the application of the transition programme, account will be taken of the need for:

—The structure of the norms of a certain stage to open venues for application of the norms of the stage to follow?
—The legal norms which, though conceived for the conditions specific to the market economy, could not be applied or were only partially used to be reactivated and complemented?
—All legal norms that run counter to market-economy mechanisms to be abrogated.

Joint U.S.-Romanian Venture Set Up in Orastie

AU1806095290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 18 Jun 90

["Romanian-American Company "—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/6/1990—The "Elor" Romanian-American Commercial and Production Company was set up in Orastie, Hunedoara County, between the American firm "Elan" and the local "Plafar" Enterprise specializing in the production and sale of edible flavours, volatile oils and chemicals. The raw materials are autochthonous plants.

The "Elor" is a first step in Hunedoara County toward bringing in foreign capital and passage to the market economy.

Foreign Credits Needed Before End of 1990

AU1806103990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Jun 90 p 4

[Editorial note: "Romania Will Resort to Foreign Credits"]

[Text] After 24 years of austerity, Romanian banking officials have announced that Romania will resort to foreign credits, REUTER reports. "In the first months of the current year we have not borrowed one single cent, but I think we will have to do so before the end of 1990," Dan Pascariu, vice president of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, said. Ceausescu paid back our country's $11 billion by starving the population to achieve incomes from exports. Bankers say that this heritage will guarantee Romania a strong position for the time being while it begins negotiating future credits. Our country still has to get back some $3 billion from abroad and has $900 million in foreign currency reserves available. On the other hand, Tom Butler, general manager of the Bucharest-based branch of "Manufacturers Hanover Trust" Bank, believes that "in the current stage Romania cannot negotiate credits. Changes are commendable but for the time being conditions are insecure." Bankers say that there is concern in connection with political uncertainty and the government's decision to introduce a market economy, while President Iliescu has rejected a "shock therapy," arguing that this would cause social disturbances, which would be too big.

* Western Media Disappointment With Election

90BA0148D Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 30 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Darie Novaceanu article: "Enthusiasm, Confusion, Disappointment; What Comes Now?"]

[Text] On 22 December 1989, the West turned on their television sets and watched a Revolution live. Scenes from it were shown for almost five days and nights without interruption, and they did not resemble one bit either the "Battle of Gettysburg," or the "Potemkin

Battleship," or even "Kaghemusha," and even less the "Dacians and Romans," even though the director of that superproduction, in which he also played a part, was one of the first figures that appeared on the screen. They were not scenes from the most artistic long feature in the history of world cinematography, but pages of real history that were being written at that very moment before the eyes of the world in live transmission.

On its progress toward the end of the second millenium, the world, several millenia old, registered the event and appropriated it as its own; it also reacted with noble promptness through the telecommunication network that envelops it. A sign that pain that did not affect one directly was beginning to be felt, sometimes thousands of kilometers away, and I would be unjust if I did not admit that this pain was felt in our case, too. It was felt even by the West, which at present has the least personal pain of its own in the world. It felt it and it reacted to it. It reacted enthusiastically, with admiration, sympathy, and solidarity. Trains, trucks, ships, and many airplanes started out in the same direction: toward us; some of them, if you recall, even under the fire of the terrorists, whom we cannot manage to find and about whom we are beginning to believe that they disappeared into thin air, although the healthiest is to believe that they are still around, but we do not yet know how to see them and distinguish them from the rest of the people.

For a few good weeks that solidarity brought tears to our eyes, uniting many hearts into one enormous, splendid, European heart beating in sync with the live television transmission. It was like a sea shore at sunrise, when the light becomes sound, that is how those weeks were. But then... Then it began to get dark. The solidarity trains were not unloaded right away; volunteers offered to unload them just for themselves (and I strongly suspect that they are not finished yet); other trains, crossing Hungary or Yugoslavia, arrived with broken seals if any, and with empty cars. With the twilight came the fog. In the nights of 12 and 28 January the fog was so dense that the television cameras were hardly able to pick up the outlines of those who had finally found their first career in freedom and democracy, that of meeting attenders.

The West was no longer able to understand the situation, or perhaps did not want to, and it turned off its television sets, suggesting instead that we turn on ours in order to learn what to do to avoid future pain. We kept watching the screen and reading the papers, and in the meantime we also turned on the radios. That is how we saw a man in the main square of Tirgu Mures fighting with the last glimmers of instinctual strength against death, but we were told that it was not a man, but a nationality. That is how we learned that neocommunism was forcing our frontiers from underneath and appropriating our revolution and our ballot boxes. That is also how we learned that if we didn't step out toward the West, the West will not come to us, which means that the neocommunists will come back for a third time. Of course, we learned other things, too, but what is important is the essence. The essence and the confusion that in broadcasting it, forcing one to labor to get to it in order to finally find out not only that it is the essence and it is good, but also that it is the only one. Just like the story of a Transylvanian author who wrote about a village, where a peasant never fed his dog out of his hand, but used to take a glob of cornbread and toss it into a bunch of thorny weeds, forcing the dog to bleed in order to eat and be able to guard his house.

This confusion was not then and is not now coincidental. The West loves us, it has given us clear proofs of love, but if we want it to continue loving us we must behave as it wants us to, except that we do not quite understand how. Especially after the elections, considering the results of the ballot, which were clearly not to its taste. So that, after enthusiasm and confusion, the West seems disappointed. It is not telling us that in so many words, because one should be prudent about everything, especially in politics. It tells us so through intermediaries, through the press and television, and even through some observers, who did not observe the votes, but only the ballot boxes.

I cannot tell whether the West will ever again turn on the television sets like on the 22nd of December to see us live. But I remember another movie. It was called The Battle of Dien Bien Phu, which was actually not won by the West, but by these fragile, numerous, and week creatures, like ants in the spring, who managed to make millions of tons of water disappear from a lake only with buckets and rice hats. At the time television sets were more rare and the event was shown later. That is how we found out that those who were defeated then transferred the defeat across the ocean and, many years later, a certain Henry Kissinger said: "Yes, the lake was emptied with rice hats and we must go home." Yes, except that they went home after a long 18 years, during which people died every day and continued to die even after that under the red terror that took their place. Oh God, the things that happen in this world!

Greeks Conducting 'War of Nerves' on Border

LD1806121390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Gevgelija, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—Greek border authorities at the Bogorodica border crossing near Dojran turned back over 3,000 Yugoslavs today, irrespective of whether or not they carried the $1,000 which has been obligatory since yesterday. Thus this state has practiclly closed its border to all Yugoslavs irrespective of where they come from.

The Yugoslav border authorities have asked TANJUG to inform all passengers intending to head for Greece not to do so since they cannot get across the border regardless of whether or not they carry the money or have their pre-paid package trips. They are advised to contact the Motoring Association Information Center of Yugoslavia before setting out and ask for information about the situation at the border.

The Greek authorities demand that Yugoslavs should present their hard currency. Nonetheless, if they produce $1,000 then they are required to have $2,000, and if they have $2,000 then they are asked to produce $5,000. Even trailers carrying goods are not being allowed through.

The Yugoslav authorities are reciprocating with similar measures and are sending back Greeks, although in doing so they are more discriminating.

It has been learned from Greek truckers on the other side of the border that their hauliers are already lodging protests with the Greek authorities, demanding that the war of nerves be stopped because their goods earmarked for Europe are rotting at the border.

Gevgelija Crossing Reopened

LD1806220390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2059 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jun (TANJUG)—As of 1500 hrs G.M.T. today, Greek officials at the border crossing at Gevgelija are again allowing Yugoslav cars to enter Greece.

The information Centre of the Yugoslav Auto-moto Federation and Tourist Association reports that Greek customs officials are demanding to see 1,000 West German Marks per a passenger car and 2,000 Marks per a freight vehicle.

Council President Markovic Receives IMF Envoy

LD1506142290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Today in Belgrade, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic received IMF Depute Managing Editor Richard Erb. The IMF representative positively assessed the results which the government has achieved in implementing the program of economic and social reforms. He especially supported efforts in that direction and stressed that the successful implementation of the Yugoslav program could be an example for the other countries in East and Central Europe.

USSR's Petrovskiy on a United Germany in NATO

LD1606134390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1235 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Nobody has the right to unilaterally change postwar realities in Europe because they are part of an all-European heritage, said Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Vladimir Petrovskiy in an interview to the Yugoslav daily BORBA. In this view, these realities can only be changed jointly and with general agreement.

Nobody questions a people's right of free choice but it must not be forgotten that the implementation of this right must not harm the rights and interests of other peoples, heighten tension or lower the level of all-European security, said Petrovskiy in the interview published on Saturday [16 June].

Noting that the German question has doubtless become the central issue of European and world affairs, he said its solution should not undermine but step up the development of new Europe.

He repeated the Soviet government's stand that it was essential to have a German peace treaty "which will at last put an end to both the Second World War and the 'Cold War' and which would guarantee that only peace will in the future come from German territory."

Petrovskiy said the announced possibility of the Soviet troops' remaining on the present territory of the German Democratic Republic once the future united Germany has entered NATO could not compensate its membership of NATO as it would lead to an impermissible upsetting of military and strategic balance between the two blocs. He repeated the Soviet stand that the united Germany should simultaneously be a member of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or that it should be an "independent state outside the military alliances and constituting a pledge of European stability."

Serbian Central Committee Supports Party Merger

AU1806152590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 90 p 8

[Dragan Radevic, Branislav Radivojsa, and Slobodan Kljakic report on the debate at the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia meeting in Belgrade on 11 June: "A New Page Is Being Turned in the History of Serbia"]

[Excerpts] Full support was given in the debate to the stands contained in the speech by Dr. Bogdan Trifunovic and the proposed reform document of the League of

Communists [LC] of Serbia. Most of the speakers particularly stressed the importance of the proposal that Slobodan Milosevic be the first new president of the new Socialist Party [partija] of Serbia. It was said that this was the best way of expressing the will and wishes of the citizens of Serbia and all democratically-oriented people. The importance of continuing the policy that was begun in Serbia as early as the eighth session of the Central Committee was also stressed.

This session has marked a break with the conduct and practice which have resulted in a disunited LC of Serbia and a disunited republic, Nedeljko Sipovac said. This session begins the struggle for the unity of the LC and the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The conditions of multiparty political pluralism and the numerous parties that have been set up, although they are not yet officially registered, require the unification of all left-oriented and progressive forces in the Socialist Republic of Serbia for the realization of the all-encompassing social reforms, Sipovac said. It is in this sense that I also interpret the proposal by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia on the unification of the LC and the SAWP into the Socialist Party of Serbia. I think that the formation of a Socialist Party of Serbia, whose strategic aim would be the struggle for democratic socialism, unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and its socioeconomic prosperity and the broadest democracy is acceptable to most LC members, SAWP members, and a vast number of working people and citizens.

Gathering Together Left-Oriented Forces

The initiative for setting up a Socialist Party of Serbia has also been supported by the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, Rahman Morina said, and added that something similar had been proposed in Kosovo as early as during the debate on the declaration of the 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This proposal, Morina said, represents the basis for the true democratic transformation of the LC into a modern political party and for the gathering together of left-oriented forces. The main aim of the unification is the economic and social progress of the republic, which, of course, also means Kosovo. Morina stressed that the title "socialist" is more suited to the LC even though, as he said, many people will find it difficult to accept that the word "communist" is being dropped. The most important thing, however, is that the basic idea of socialism is not being abandoned.

At many meetings, LC members and citizens have for several months been taking a stand against the abuse of political pluralism and democracy directed at the destruction of the sovereignty and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. Demands are being made to oppose the activities of parties, groups, and associations who aspire to national exclusivity and interethnic and religious hatred. Nationalism is appearing in virtually every region of the country and we should know that it is equally dangerous wherever it appears and so far it has brought no one any happiness. On the contrary, the Kosovo experience should be a lesson for everyone who thinks that they can enter Europe on the ideas of national blindness, hatred, and separatism.

Explaining that it is the demand of the people that Slobodan Milosevic be at the head of the new party because he is a man who is believed, Milutin Mrkonjic said that the Socialist Party of Serbia should be open to everyone who supports its program of struggle and democratic socialism in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

I am convinced, he stressed, that it will be nothing unusual if the people in this party have different ideological orientations, on condition that they work toward the achievement of the same aim. [passage omitted]

Members of the Central Committee unanimously endorsed the introductory speech and the proposed document. Full support was given to the initiative on the unification of the LC and the SAWP into the Socialist Party of Serbia. The Central Committee also made the unanimous decision to propose that the decision on unification be made at the 12th Congress of the LC of Serbia.

It was decided to hold the 12th Congress of the LC of Serbia by the middle of July this year, and the date of the congress will be set at the next session of the Central Committee which is scheduled for 14 June. At this session of the Central Committee, which will also be attended by presidents of the communal committees, decisions will be made of importance for preparing the 12th Congress of the LC of Serbia.

Prlja on Kosovo's Status in Serbia, Elections

AU1506165190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 90

[(Ljiljana Simic) report]

[Text] Opening up the way toward democratization, Serbia has freed itself of an erroneous party [word indistinct] in the last three years, which [words indistinct]. Therefore there can no longer be and there will no longer be single-party elections, Aleksandar Prlja, republican secretary for foreign relations, said in a news conference. (Ljiljana Simic) has the details:

[Simic] The territorial integrity of Serbia will not and cannot be undermined by anything. To simply ignore this fact is all the more serious as it raises the question of not only the security of Yugoslavia but of this part of Europe, Aleksandar Prlja said.

For Serbia, it is therefore futile to talk about the possibility of the survival of a state within a state as has so far been the case with Kosovo. However, this does not mean, he added, that the basic rights of the national

minorities will be challenged in any way. In a multiparty system of the type that the Serbian leadership advocates, not only can they not be undermined but it can be expected that they will be legally affirmed. After all, Prlja added, this will be completely guaranteed by the new constitution.

Speaking about the upcoming elections, the republican secretary for foreign relations assessed that the date for holding the elections will be determined by the adoption of the highest legal document in Serbia. This sequence of events adheres to what he called the basic logic of the state interest. In his opinion, if the elections are held somewhat later, this can only be to the advantage of the opposition and its better preparedness.

In reply to a question from the journalist from Italy's LA REPUBBLICA on how the republican secretary for foreign relations sees the policy of the Serbian leadership in Kosovo—which, according to this correspondent, could be seen as having been unsuccessful in the last two years—Prlja said that before it becomes autonomous, Kosovo must get used to the fact that it is not a state. As he said, abandoning this illusion is the most (?important) thing in the period of overcoming the old policy and setting up a modern multiparty state.

SDS Reacts to Socialist Party Statement

LD1606214890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Knin, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Further on the Socialist Party's statement, issued yesterday by the Presidium of its Municipal Committee in Knin, regarding "open attacks by the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] on the property, officials, and leadership of the Socialist Party," which was carried by some of the media, the SDS also has issued a statement. It reads as follows:

Representatives of the SDS did not enter the offices of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, since this organization no longer exists. Nor did the representatives of the SDS enter the offices of the Alliance of Socialists, or using its new name, the Socialist Party of Croatia, since they do not possess any offices in Klin. Even if we tried to understand all their transformations, we still would be far from contemplating allowing them to turn the social property of an umbrella organization into the property of a single party, something no one else in Klin will do. If someone were irresponsible and naive enough to let them do this, he still would have to know that the building is owned by the municipal trade union council. [passage omitted]

Croatia's Tudjman Delivers Inaugural Address

AU1506050590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 90 p 5

["Excerpts" of inaugural address by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, in Zagreb on 30 May: "We Do Not Need Political 'Solidarity'"]

[Excerpts] During all these long centuries of our troubled history, the Croatian State Assembly has been the guardian of the sovereignty of the Croatian people in relation to the other national and state communities (except in the period from 1918 to 1941). The Croatian Assembly was a sponsor of the legal order [pravni poredak], and—depending on the social circumstances of the particular times—the guaranty of citizens' freedoms and rights and of the general civilizational progress. [passage omitted]

Now when the elections are behind us, it is time we directed all our views and thoughts toward the present times, tomorrow, and the future.

Although we, when presenting our democratic aims, proclaimed thorough changes in all the spheres of spiritual and material life, this does not mean that we are in favor of bringing down, and even less destroying, even those things that have their justification in a democratic setup, too, or something that can be transformed and thereby made to serve as a general benefit.

Not Everything Is Worthless

Among all that we have inherited from the previous authorities there are few good things, but that does not mean that everything they have left us is completely worthless.

This results from the very fact that the period of the old power was long. Three generations have suffered but have also worked and created under it. Along with all of the mistakes, this also had to leave some positive consequences and trails which cannot and must not be abandoned to a general eradication.

The problems that the new authorities—ranging from local communities and communes to the Assembly, government, and Presidency—are confronted with are many, complex, and complicated. These authorities will have to be simultaneously solving many vital problems within a short period of time, problems that other European and Western countries solved 50 or even 500 years ago. [passage omitted]

Equal Opportunities for Everybody

We cannot and do not want to guarantee anybody absolute equality or general social welfare, regardless of his capabilities or working results. We only want to create equal opportunities for everybody, without any discrimination, but we also demand the equal responsibility of everybody in fulfilling legal obligations and respecting legal order.

In this respect I would like to point out that we do not reckon with any political "solidarity," but, on the contrary, with creative and principled criticism both from

the Assembly's opposition benches and from the intellectual ranks in all spheres of social and political life. [passage omitted]

Let me now, at the end of my inaugural address, try to present in brief some of the most important immediate tasks.

1. A new constitution for the Republic of Croatia: In the plebiscitary declaration in the elections, the Croatian people decided in favor of democratic freedoms and the state sovereignty of Croatia to be established in advance as basic principles of a new Croatian constitution.

The Constitutional Commission will include the most competent people in political and scientific life. The new Croatian constitution must be free from all ideological additives, based on Croatian experiences with the constitutional law, and must be in the spirit of the most democratic traditions of the contemporary European and North American reality and law.

2. Establishing Croatia's new constitutional position in Yugoslavia: Since we should proceed from the fact that Croatia is a part of Yugoslavia, which is a recognized member of the international establishment, we are prepared to negotiate with the representatives of other peoples in the SFRY and federal bodies with a view to regulating mutual relations by agreement.

On the basis of our entire historical experience, we are of the opinion that the state sovereignty of Croatia as a part of a joint community together with other peoples of the present SFRY can be ensured only on the confederalist foundations, that is, within a contractual union of sovereign states.

3. Joining Europe and the Europeanization of Croatia: Along with the internal democratic transformation, all necessary steps should be taken with a view to having Croatia join the EC as soon as possible.

4. Establishing the rule of law [ustanovljenje poretka pravne drzave] and modernizing state administration: The prerequisite for every true democracy is a consistent separation of legislative, executive, and judiciary powers and their responsibilities.

Depolitizating the judiciary completely and ensuring its total independence must be one of our primary tasks. The de-bureaucratization and modernization of the complete state administration requires an organizational rearrangement and cadre and technological renewal.

5. Spiritual renewal: Democratic movements during the short time of the first free elections have brought a special kind of spiritual renewal of the Croatian national self-awareness. The fact that a huge majority of the Croatian people declared themselves in favor of the program aims of the Croatian Democratic Community has in fact marked an end of that "civil war" that has been going on in Croatia since the era of World War II.

6. Thorough changes in ownership relations and economy: Our democratic government is taking over a Croatia in a worrying state of economic impoverishment and general lagging behind Europe. As soon as possible one should find ways out of the social ownership relations and create conditions for the legal and financial security of all economic and entrepreneurial operations. To be able to find the most suitable and quickest ways to change ownership relations, find solutions for the necessary denationalization and reprivatization, and establish an effective taxation system and banking and stock exchange operations we shall have to seek the service of not only our experts, but competent foreign experts as well.

7. Demographic renewal: General policy during the past several decades has brought the Croatian national corpus into the state of demographic endangerment. Apart from changing the general spiritual and political climate, it is also necessary to take urgent and purposeful steps with a view to both stemming the flow of our citizens leaving the country and increasing our birthrate.

8. Emigrants' return and involvement: One of the various successes of the Croatian Democratic Community which have already contributed to the demographic renewal achieved so far is undoubtedly the establishment of spiritual unity between Croats at home and abroad. The new Croatian authorities at all levels should undertake purposeful steps with a view to enabling as many Croats as possible to return to their homeland as soon as possible.

One should seriously consider the possibility of moving a section of the Croatian minority to the deserted areas in many parts of Croatia.

9. The need for changes in public services: We need large, urgent changes in almost all spheres of public life. Culture, science and education, health and social care, insurance, journalism, and other public services are teeming with problems and financial difficulties.

The old regime has left us with a spiritual and material wasteland in many spheres, particularly in schooling and education. What we need is a return to our own and general European educational tradition, as well as a radical turn toward the data processing era of the future.

10. Moral renewal and work ethic: The unnatural real socialist system has left us the legacy of fatal consequences particularly because its perversion has ruined and devalued all traditional values and moral norms. This applies equally to education at home and in school and to the professional, work, and business ethic. The distortion of the system of values resulted in the escape or apathy of clever and capable people and advance of incapable and unscrupulous careerists. Changing such a distorted system of values will be a difficult and long job, but it should be started in all spheres and pores of life.

Discusses 'National Reconciliation'

AU1806102990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Raskovic Is Incorrect"]

[Text] As part of its half hour-long current affairs program "Focus," Slovene television last night carried an interview with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, on current issues in Croatia, relations between Croatia and Slovenia, and relations within Yugoslavia.

In reply to a question on what will be his priority tasks in his new post, Dr. Tudjman said that "the first tasks that the Presidency, Assembly, and government of the Socialist Republic of Croatia expect will be to accomplish what they promised in their preelection speeches."

Do you also agree with the claim that the fate of the Yugoslav community will depend on how the conflict ends between the Serbian and Croatian peoples in Yugoslavia?, was one of the questions asked by the journalist. Assessing this area as very important, Dr. Tudjman said that "we have had enough experience from 1918, 1941, and 1945 and even up until the present day to resolve all these questions in a democratic way, and I believe in this."

Some people have criticized you for not mentioning the other peoples in Croatia in your inauguration speech in the Assembly.

Dr. Tudjman said that "he spoke about the Croatian people and all citizens of Croatia, so therefore there is no reason for anyone to feel offended."

Commenting on relations with Jovan Raskovic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, said that "he had had personal meetings with Raskovic. In these talks, we agreed that cooperation is necessary between the Croats and Serbs in Croatia and even between the Croatian and Serbian peoples as a whole. It was along these lines that we came to the agreement that we would offer him the position of vice president in the Assembly as the representative of the Serbian Democratic Party and Serbs in Croatia. However, we are now faced with a slightly incomprehensible viewpoint. We received a telegram from Raskovic saying that he is withdrawing his nomination. I think that it is extremely inappropriate, I would dare say, unseemly to put the blame for the Benkovac affair either on the Croatian Democratic Community or the Croatian people and therefore, as they put it, 'suspend their relations with the Assembly.'"

Replying to a question on how he sees the future of Yugoslavia, Dr. Tudjman said among other things: "The entire historical experience since 1918, 1941, and 1945 until the present day shows that it is time to look realities in the eye, to stop deceiving ourselves with political and party ideas, and to realize that this involves not just particular nationalities but also peoples who have developed historically in their own civilizatory and cultural spheres. In this respect, not even such a monolithic or doctrinaire and unified party like the Communist Party has succeeded in surmounting these differences. Therefore, conclusions should be drawn from this and attempts should be made to determine relations on confederal bases, as an alliance of sovereign states. Anything else would lead to a further waste of time and strength and further friction or perhaps undesirable consequences. Attempts should be made in democratic talks and dialogue to find possibilities of living together or even for us to come to a conclusion that would suit all of us," Tudjman said.

A lot has recently been said in Slovenia about national reconciliation. In Croatia you talk more about the danger of revanchism considering that the former opposition has come to power. To what extent is the question of national reconciliation and the question of revanchism interesting for you in Croatia?, the Slovene television journalist asked.

"I think that it is time that for us on Croatian soil and you on Slovene soil and any other people on other soil to overcome everything that took place in the Second World War and really reach a reconciliation. What happened in the Second World War was not so much a struggle of individuals as a struggle of general circumstances in which the Slovene, Croatian, and every other people found themselves. Therefore, we perceived a long time ago that the opponents, the belligerent sides in the Second World War—Germany, France, and the Soviet Union—are now friends and allies and cooperate with each other, and we are still digging up old conflicts which were imposed. It is time to come to a reconciliation on the soil of every people and to build a democratic society," Tudjman replied.

Examines Internal Affairs

LD1406212790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1131 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 14 June (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia at the session held on 13 June, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, established, as stated today, several stances, decisions and proposals setting in motion changes at the republican level regarding the activity of the internal affairs bodies, the ensuring of political freedoms and, in connection with this, redefining political crimes. It also considered problems regarding changes in ownership and public-sector relations.

With regard to the discussion at, and conclusions from, the expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, about which President Tudjman delivered a report, the Presidency assessed as significant the political leadership's endorsement of the initiative that all open issues concerning the future composition of Yugoslavia be considered in a democratic manner without imposition of views or conditioning dialogues and solutions, which is

the essence of the clear and principled Croat stance concerning the original sovereignty of the republics.

In line with the achieved degree of democratic transformation of the social system in Croatia, the Presidency adopted the principled stance to begin with appropriate changes in the status, role, and tasks of the internal affairs bodies. It was stressed that the changes must be undertaken primarily in the direction of the full elimination of all ideological remnants because of exceptional sensitivity and delicacy of that part of the institutional system of a democratic state governed by law.

The role of the internal affairs bodies must be to both safeguard in a highly professional manner the constitutional order and to protect human liberties, rights, property, and widely accepted social values solely through the strict application of positive laws. On the account of these objectives, it is necessary to abolish the state security service's role of monitoring political enemies. That is, since we are abandoning the nations of internal and external political enemies, personified until the recent democratic changes by our citizens who held different political views than those espoused by the former ruling system of political singlemindedness, the state security should now be developed into a modern service for the protection of citizens and the state and the prevention of violence and terrorism.

In line with the present stance, the measures of surveillance of telephone calls, opening of private mail, withdrawing passports from citizens on the account of their political views, and keeping illegal files on citizens, must stop.

In this sense, it is necessary to reorganize the service so that it undertakes only the roles and tasks which such services have in other democratically developed countries of the free world.

It was considered that it is necessary to undertake other numerous changes through an appropriate reorganization of the internal affairs bodies on the whole, regarding their expertise, professional conduct, technical equipment, responsibility, including changes to the service's name, and the adoption and introduction of traditional names: the police force; and, for its parts: public service, traffic service, etc. The same applies to changes in uniforms, symbols, and such like. All these changes are brought with the aim of reinstating confidence in those bodies. Naturally, all types of the security service will be monitored.

When the reorganization of internal affairs bodies is carried out, it will be necessary to carry out appropriate cadre changes. In particular, their composition should reflect the national composition of the population of Croatia. Understandably, eminent champions of ideological totalitarianism cannot retain their posts. However, this process cannot assume a form of revanchism or involve similar actions which could put into jeopardy the recruitment procedure for such complex and responsible work posts by highlighting party, national, religious, racial, or any other affiliation as being advantageous. The sole criteria for cadre changes must be a higher degree of expertise, high professional morals, humanity in carrying out tasks of the service which is exceptionally sensitive for the rights and liberties of citizens.

Bearing in mind the present number of cadre, the Presidency holds that there is no need to raise the number of internal affairs employees. On the contrary, appropriate cadre restructuring of some bodies and services and certain cadre reductions in the administration could create a scope for cadre consolidation of unfilled parts of certain bodies and services, and for the improvement of their material position and technical equipment.

Necessary legal regulations should be prepared and initiated simultaneously with the transformation of the security service.

In line with the adopted stances, it was assessed that the SFRY Presidency's diplomatic and consular missions have no right to survey the political mood among our citizens abroad. Therefore changes regarding the abolition of the surveillance of the so-called political emigration, as well as necessary changes to the criminal law, will be demanded and set in motion at the federal level.

The Presidency further decided to send a demand to the Commission for Conditional Acquittal of the Republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration of the SR of Croatia to conditionally release, right away, all persons convicted for political offenses, who are still serving their sentences in jails on Croat territory. Persons who are not in a position to be released in this way, will be pardoned by an act of the Presidency.

It was noted that 37 persons convicted for political crimes are currently serving their prison terms in the republic.

On the occasion of the democratic government being instituted in Croatia, the Presidency will pardon a number of other sentenced persons who are serving their terms of imprisonment in penal correction institutions on the territory of the SR of Croatia. The pardon will include seriously ill, very young, and very old persons, as well as those who pledge by their behavior that they will join normal social life; convictions of persons sentenced to long terms of imprisonment will be reduced.

On the basis of Article 382 (Paragraph One) of the Croat Constitution, the Presidency considered issues relating to emigrants from the SR of Croatia who were treated as political emigration by the former authorities. With the adopted stances the Presidency quarantees free and safe return to all people who emigrated from the SR of Croatia and who had the status of political emigrees because of their marked dissatisfaction with the situation in the country and who, although criminal proceedings against them had either not been set in motion or not brought to a conclusion, out of the fear from persecutions or other consequences, left the SR of Croatia.

In the same context, all emigrants who were sentenced in absence for criminal acts with political characteristics and who avoided serving their terms of imprisonment, or did not finish their terms of imprisonment because they left the country, can return to Croatia. They are being warned of a possibility that, under the law on criminal proceedings (Article 404), criminal proceedings could be renewed. This [pardon] does not encompass persons convicted and prosecuted for the criminal acts of genocide and war crimes (war crimes against civilian population, against wounded and sick, and against prisoners of war), that is, for criminal acts which according to international agreements cannot become outdated. However, even these persons are cautioned of the possibility that renewed judicial proceedings could be demanded.

The session also concluded that the Presidency ask the Assembly's Executive Council to set up a body whose primary task would be the prevention of abuses and other illegal acts endangering and harming socially owned property. Such a body is obliged to undertake necessary steps, and the Executive Council to inform the Presidency of the noted former omissions in this area and to constantly monitor relations and changes in socially owned property.

At the same time, the Presidency drew attention to the noted attempts to haphazardly undermine the authority, legality, and legitimity of managing boards in certain work organizations, which could lead to the paralysis of business activities. Appropriate energetic measures must be made against such haphazardous tendencies. However, at the same time, a normal and legally prescribed process of restructuring the system of management, which would see to it that managers incapable of coping with demands and criteria of modern management in the market economy are replaced, must be ensured. Therefore, it is exceptionally important to secure the promotion of capable, knowledgeable, creative, competent, and enterprising businessmen, because today this is one of the main preconditions for improving our economy. Until the process of the change in ownership relations is not embarked on.

Croat Communists 'Probably' Facing Split

AU1406030690 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 90 p 2

[Goran Litvan commentary: "Opposition's Fission"]

[Text] One question that has been hanging in the air since the congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, that is, since the end of last year, is: Can Racan's reformist wave really tip the party's scales and transform it into a modern European left-wing party? Although the reformers won the majority support for their option, the opposition within the party remained strong, even stronger than it had appeared to be at first. During preelection campaigns confrontations were to some extent kept quiet, but after the defeat in the elections and the inauguration of the new authority, they have again come to the surface.

The first to rebel were the Communists of Vrginmost, stressing that Racan was no longer their president. They were followed by the Communists from Banija, who were even more specific: "We are not the Party of Democratic Changes anymore!" They also wanted the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes to recall Dusan Bilandzic from the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The reason for such a reaction was said to be the failure of the communist representatives in the Assembly to react to Franjo Tudjman and Zarko Domljan, who did not mention the Serbian people in their inaugural speeches at all. However, reasons are obviously much deeper than this issue concerning Serbs, which is not unimportant, but represents only a layer in the Croatian Communists' problems.

As we have already said, Racan won at the congress of the LC of Croatia. He was also given the green light to leave the congress of the LC of Yugoslavia. However, he did not have an absolute majority. This could have been noticed even after the interrupted congress, at the sessions of the Central Committee of the LC (of Yugoslavia) which were attended by only one member of the LC of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes, Borislav Mikelic. He was there not as the representative of the party, but as the representative of the Communists from Banija. This is how he identified himself in Belgrade. After all, some delegates of the LC of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes did take part in the farcical continuation of the congress of the LC (of Yugoslavia), despite the decision of Racan's Central Committee that the Croatian Communists should not go. Therefore, it was only a question of time when the rebellion in the party was going to explode into an open clash.

Although he must have been fully aware that a serious discussion concerning the party's future is inevitable, which could have been concluded from some of his statements, Racan left it Mikelic to deal the first blow. Mikelic is increasingly becoming Racan'a rival, and may even become the leader of the party that could resemble more the ruins of the LC (of Yugoslavia) than the Party of Democratic Changes with the pronounced note of national (Serbian) self-consciousness. At the same time the director of Gavrilovic of Petrinja, who at one time announced his retirement from politics, behaves as if he is also trying to challenge Jovan Raskovic as the leader of Serbs in Croatia. The circumstances in both these cases seem to be favorable for him. Although it may appear to some people as illogical, but the victory of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) at the elections in Croatia is strengthening Mikelic's position, because the issue concerning nationalities remains in the focus. On the other hand, Racan is lacking maneuvering space for a "parallel slalom" between the Assembly (on the course of constructive opposition) and a discussion on the future of the party. Tensions concerning the ethnic issue

do not suit him in the Assembly at all, and especially in the party, because they are concealing the essence of the clash between the reformist and antireformist factions in the Communist Party.

In any case, the clash between the "old" and "new" Communists in Croatia is the key issue which Racan and his opposition will be working on in the upcoming period. A denouement could already start in Rijeka on Saturday, 9 June, at a session of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes, but the final answer should be provided by the next congress. Only after that will the realm of the steps made by the Croatian Communists prior to 1990 be more certain. So will the "blood picture" of the Assembly's opposition which could easily be divided into the old communists and new democrats. The fate of Racan's party will probably be a split into a classical communist party, relying on the ideology and insignia of the LC (of Yugoslavia), and the new, democratic party which will in fact be running away from this for something more modern.

Slovene Communist Party Evaluates Campaign

LD1206211390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 12 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Jun (TANJUG)—Defensive spirit during the election campaign, excessive borrowing for campaign needs, mistakes concerning the de-professionalization of the party president, low spirits on the part of the party leadership, and too few contacts with municipal structures—these were the most frequent criticism concerning the activity of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform [ZKS-Stranka Demokratske Prenove] whose reorganization was discussed today during the session of the ZKS-SDP Central Committee. This main item on the agenda, which also included a vote of confidence in the president and Presidium members and the eleciton of the ZKS-SDP Central Committee senior officials, was dedicated to an analysis of the new social situation and the situation in the organization as the basis for beginning preparations for the forthcoming party congress which, as announced, will be held in the autumn, in two parts and outside Ljubljana. In addition, a 21 June meeting of the "reformists" at the republican level was announced, and so was the first issue of the magazine EVROPA.

The introductory report during the session, which was also devoted to the implementation of party reorganization and rationalization of the professional aparatus, was submitted by Dr. Ciril Ribicic, ZKS-SDP president.

There is every reason for concern, said Ribicic, but not for despair and panic. On the contrary, the situation calls for new optimism, constant initiative among the public and in the assemblies, activity of a new type and loyalty to party program. According to Ribicic, the overall result is not ideal for the party, but it merits respect, especially if one considers that our political competitors tried to give priority to a one-sided portrayal of the past and responsibility for it rather than to the quality of the programs and candidates. We were more successful when the party was facing other parties individually and our candidates were facing other candidates individually, said Ribicic, and less successful when we were competing with party coalitions and their joint candidates. However, he recalled, in most of the republic's municipalities, as a rule, the ZKS-SDP party is the strongest opposition party.

In addition to pointing out the shortcomings, Ribicic also stressed that because of its well-known defense, development of the sovereignty of Slovenia, and its confederal status efforts, the party has a great reputation among the people. Unfortunately, he added, we were not convincing enough for our citizens to entrust the executive power to us, in conjunction with other left-wing forces. However, we have obtained sufficient support to enable us to operate as a creative and constructive opposition. According to Ribicic, in the future, party membership must be even more of a private matter for every individual and an internal matter for the party, except when the members involved are ready to be its officials and election candidates.

Among the party's shortcomings Ribicic especially stressed the excessive professional apparatus, for which the blame attaches to the leadership, who are not adapting themselves to new requirements. However, the current radical move of doing away with the old work communities is the only possible solution.

Ribicic also made the assessment that the ZKS-SDP party had been very much different from other parties, which were the protagonists of monopoly power on Yugoslav territory—in finance, property, and in asserting party interests. He described as very positive the fact that the Presidium of the ZKS-SDP Central Committee is able to redirect attention at this difficult moment for the party not only by setting up the assembly, but by preparing for the autumn congress as well.

Ciril Ribicic pleaded that the Evropa Sedaj [Europe Now] program should be improved, changed, and adapted to meet the new situation and that the party should be more clearly profiled in it as a left-wing and democratic party which will be an equal component part of the modern left-wing European movement. The name of the party should be redefined on a more lasting basis, remnants of Bolshevism in the program, party title, and names of its bodies abandoned, congress and electoral symbols and colors improved, and a free and varied organization allowed, said Ribicic in conclusion.

After a discussion which went on for several hours, a secret vote of confidence in the president, Presidium, and all appointed ZKS-SDP Central Committee officials was taken. The outcome of the vote showed that not only did they get a vote of confidence for their past work, but all the work concerning preparations for the autumn party congress was entrusted to them.

Slovene Defense Secretariat on Mandatory Service

LD1506215590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—If the SFRY Assembly does not adopt the Slovene Assembly's proposal on changes to the law on compulsory military service, the Slovene Government will propose corresponding measures which, for the time being, it is still examining, according to a statement from the Republican Secretariat for National Defense of the Republic of Slovenia.

In this proposal, which is going through formal processing in the Federal Assembly, the Assembly of Slovenia requests that people who have been called upon to fulfill their military service should serve on the territory of their own republic. The statement from the republican secretariat also cites data on the departure of recruits from Slovenia going off on their military service this month, and says that in all 45.75 percent of recruits called up in June will do their military service in Slovenia and Croatia.

Kucan Praises New Slovene Constitution

LD1706142490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—The new constitution of Yugoslavia's northern Republic of Slovenia will ensure the full political and economic sovereignty of that republic, as a sovereign state of the Slovene people, as Slovenia State Presidency President Milan Kucan set out today.

The Slovenia Presidency, as Kucan said, will in a few days submit to the republican legislature an initiative for the drawing up of a new republican constitution, which he said would, at the same time, create conditions for the signing of a draft confederate agreement.

Slovenia will present the draft confederate agree to all other Yugoslav republics for discussion and adoption, as Kucan said, speaking at the inauguration of the Slovenia Presidency, elected in the first multi-party elections since the war.

Kucan set out that Slovenia wants to become a creative and equal factor in all economic and other integration processes in Europe and the world, as an equal member of the respective institutions.

The Slovenia president called for national reconciliation of the Slovenes and set out that reconciliation with all victims of the war was a historical necessity and a cultural and civilizational obligation. Kucan said that all war victims, regardless of to which side they had belonged, should be buried once and for all with full dignity and piety and that attention should then be directed to a common solution of issues of vital importance for the future of the Slovenes.

Macedonian Assembly Adopts Ethnic Rights Bill

AU1806153190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jun 90 p 3

[N.B. report: "Declaration on Respecting Rights of Minorities"]

[Text] Skopje—At yesterday's joint session of its three chambers, the Assembly of Macedonia adopted a declaration on relations with neighboring countries and the position of the Macedonian ethnic minority in these countries. The declaration, that has been sent to the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and provinces, stresses among other things, "the development of good, neighborly relations is not possible without resolving the remaining questions in joint relations, particularly as concerns issues connected with the existence, respect for, and promotion of the rights of ethnic minorities."

The Assembly of Macedonia expresses the concern and unease of the working people and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia because of the negative attitude to the position and rights of the parts of the Macedonian people which live as an ethnic minority in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, and condemns the measures of repression and pressure that are being taken against the Macedonian ethnic minority in these countries and advocates that international documents on ethnic minorities and human rights be adhered to. It is assessed that Yugoslav foreign policy must be more active before European and world public and before their institutions responsible for the problems of international relations, the rights of minorities, and human rights.

From the debate that was conducted concerning the report on implementing the conclusions of the Assembly of Macedonia in relations with neighboring countries, which were adopted on 22 November last year, one gets the impression that the tone of the speeches was somewhat calmer than was expected for this session and there was less mention of the idea that disagreements exist between the Macedonian and Yugoslav leaderships concerning the foreign policy that is conducted toward neighboring countries. Dragoljub Stavrev, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, stressed that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, together with the republican Executive Council, is in constant contact with the responsible federal organs and the SFRY Presidency when it comes to relations with neighboring countries and the Macedonian issue.

Delegate Predrag Kusevski did not agree with the assessment that SFRY foreign policy toward its neighbors and the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia had always been synchronized and stressed that warnings had for many years come from the federal forums that "it was not time to raise the Macedonian issue," and that there were such pressures today, too. He said that even before this session, a letter had come from the Federal

Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in which it was "suggested" to the members of the Assembly of Macedonia that they not adopt the declaration, but Dr. Vulnet Starova, Assembly president, denied this, stressing that this was a question of the usual contact in which the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs informs the republican Assembly about its activities on the international scene.

The fact that all this will not end with declarations is shown by the letter that was sent to the Assembly of Macedonia by the Executive Council of the Djevdjelija Commune, in which it is assessed that the meetings that were recently organized on the Yugoslav-Macedonian border at Bogorodica and Stari Dojran were successful and it is proposed to the Executive Council that it make possible a border meeting between Macedonians from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Macedonians living in the Republic of Greece. The republican Executive Council is also reminded that the organizational committee of Djevdjelija craftsmen has also scheduled a meeting for 16 June this year and is called upon to join efforts to carry through with this activity.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Party Opposes Referendum

LD1406161990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 14 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Forum of Bosnia-Hercegovina rejects in the strongest terms a proposal from the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to hold a referendum on citizens' rights to political assembly on a national basis.

This is said in a statement issued today by the Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Forum, which comprises three parties and an association.

The proposal is a political trick insulting to the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina because it asks them in a referendum to state their attitude to an issue which belongs to the group of inalienable basic human rights and freedoms in all democratic states, the statement emphasizes. The issues such as the right to life or to freedom of conviction are not decided on through a referendum anywhere in the world. Individual and common rights and freedoms are unassailable and universal, and cannot be decided on by a majority vote.

A referendum on this issue is totally unnecessary! Something else is needed: All constitutional and legal prerequisites for free and democratic elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina should be created immediately. One of these prerequisites is a new law on political associations which would provide for clearly defined guarantees of citizens' right to political association on a national basis, the statement says in conclusion.